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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE RUTHENIAN SCHOOL REVOLT: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

BY

ANGELA GAUTHIER

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1995

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A Gauthier

33 Wakefield Boulevard
St. Albert, Alberta
T8N 3G1

April 24, 1995

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Ruthenian School Revolt: A Theoretical Analysis submitted by Angela Gauthier in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

Dr. Joe Fris

Dr. David Wangler

Dr. John Oster

April 21, 1995

ABSTRACT

In 1913, Alberta's Department of Education fired thirteen Ruthenian teachers who were working in Ukrainian settlements. This action was rationalized on the grounds that the teachers lacked competent knowledge of the English language and legitimized on the grounds that none of them had attended normal schools in Alberta. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, claimed that the measure was precipitated by political considerations. They opposed the government's new policy in twelve Ruthenian school districts, the most belligerent opposition coming from the Bukowina School District.

On the surface, the conflict seemed to be a language issue. However, the latent cause was the opposing world views of the two groups. This study examines the juxtaposition of their world views and analyzes the events from a sociological perspective.

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Introduction

> Generally speaking, human beings have seldom been able to accommodate themselves to the fact of human diversity; in most sociopolitical settings, differences of one sort or another - religious, racial or ethnic - have been so seriously regarded as to give rise to politically significant problems.
> (Claude, 1969, p. 1)

Throughout Canadian history the assimilation of newcomers has been a challenging task for the federal and provincial governments. One need only look at certain periods in our history such as the Irish immigration after the Great Famine in the 19th century, the influx of Slavs at the beginning of the 20th century, and the Third-World immigrants of today, to realize that not only has the "Canadianization" of the "foreigners" been a formidable endeavour but it has also been one that has been plagued with conflict.

National and provincial authorities believed that children should attend school because it was assumed that schools could develop a sense of nationalism in the young inhabitants. Before 1888, however, there were no compulsory schooling laws. Between 1671 and 1870 the Northwest Territories -- land west and north of present day Ontario to the B.C. boundary -- was controlled almost exclusively by the Hudson's Bay Company. It's main motive was profit in fur trading and therefore it did little to encourage the establishment of schools. Company officials left the establishment of educational institutions to private agencies such as the church. It was the church mission schools, then, that attempted to meet the educational needs of the sparsely settled Territories. The situation remained as such until 1840 when the Hudson's Bay

Company began promoting missionary work. Missionaries were encouraged to come to the Territories to teach in what eventually became relatively permanent mission posts.

However, the results were not impressive. In 1861, for example, there was only one Catholic mission school, accommodating about two dozen children, in what is now Alberta. By 1873 there were only six formal public educational centres. These centres were frequently closed during the winter months and without compulsory attendance laws, attendance was irregular at best.

These laws did not appear until 1888 when the Council of the Northwest Territories inserted a section in the 1884 School Ordinance, on compulsory education. All children between the ages of seven and twelve were required to attend school for at least twelve weeks a year. This piece of legislation reflected the authorities' perception of the importance of education.

In 1892 another Ordinance was enacted which paid particular attention to compulsory education. There were no less than six sections that were devoted to this issue.

The sections outline: the length of time the school should be in operation, the minimum being six months where there were at least ten school age children in the district; who should be attending school; and the circumstances under which non-compliance with these laws would be considered acceptable. Reasonable excuses included sickness, no school being open in the district, or the child being under instruction in some other satisfactory manner (The School Ordinance, 1892).

The enactment of compulsory attendance laws was but one step towards the government's ultimate goal of national unity, which implied cultural conformity. Canadians were convinced that "by a kind of historical necessity, cultural uniformity was essential to Canada's future..." (McDonald,

1982, p. 127). Many of the immigrant groups who came to settle in Canada did not welcome this forced assimilation. Numerous dramas were to unfold across the country, some causing national headlines, others confined to local newspapers. This study deals with one of the less publicized educational controversies -- The Great Ruthenian School Revolt, also known as the Bukowina School Incident.

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

After enduring decades of political and social oppression, overpopulation, unemployment and starvation, many Ukrainian peasants saw only one escape to their precarious existence--emigration.

In Canada, Wilfred Laurier's liberal government was pursuing Macdonald's policy of settling the West. To promote this settlement, Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, embarked on an ambitious campaign to attract appropriate farmers. Many of these farmers came from Bukowina and Galicia -- Ruthenian populated provinces within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The largest wave of immigration to Canada occurred between 1896 and 1914 when 170,000 Ukrainian peasants entered the land. Approximately thirty thousand of these settled in Alberta, many in ethnically exclusive block settlements to the east and north of Edmonton (Kostash, 1977). Politicians and educators felt the most expedient way to "Canadianize" these foreigners was through the schools.

However, the immigrant Ukrainian peasants and the Canadian government were two groups which held different world views and whose attitudes and expectations towards education and the role of the school were in conflict. The purpose of this study is to investigate a particular case - The Great Ruthenian School Revolt - and to analyze the probable causes of the conflict and the management

strategies each party used to try to realize their conflicting educational goals. This analysis will be done using the tenets of the coercion or conflict theory of society. It is hoped that an analysis from this viewpoint will enrich the literature of the event by offering a deeper understanding of why the event occurred.

B. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The reasons for this study are of a general and a specific nature. Specifically, the reasons are:

(a) to determine how the government dealt with groups who wanted to retain their culture;
(b) to determine the political, social and cultural motivations of both parties in this issue;
(c) to investigate a discrepancy that was found in a teacher assault case where the accounts differ in the Annual Report of 1914 and in a book by Mr. W. Czumer, the Ukrainian teacher involved in the incident; and
(d) because the incident, although not a common reaction, is an important example of the kinds of problems the immigrants were facing in other areas of Canada at the time.

In more general terms a study of this type would: (a) afford the opportunity to gain an understanding of how and why this segment of history happened, which would allow a person to make informed judgments of the past and gain insights into present events; (b) aid in gaining a deeper comprehension of the meaning of the education process; and (c) aid in addressing the problem of there being inadequate

information about conflict in school settings, since most of that information pertains to other kinds of organizations or to different settings.

C. METHODOLOGY

This section presents an overall design of the research. Sources of data are briefly described, the process of data collection is explained, and how the data were analyzed is outlined.

Design of the Study

This is a micro ethnographic study whose focus is on a conflict in the Bukowina School District in the early 20th century between the Ukrainian community and the Department of Education. According to Berg (1989), micro ethnography focuses on a particular point in a larger setting or group. These points "represent salient elements in the lives of [the] participants and in turn in the life of the larger group..." (p. 53). The study began with a brief examination of the formative economic, political, and social influences of both parties involved which affected the historical events that led to the conflict. The Great Ruthenian School Revolt and the events leading up to it were examined using Dahrendorf's coercion model of society. The study concluded with some reflections on this analytical attempt and with some thoughts on the implications for further study.

Data Sources

The sources of data for this study were informal interviews, a written account of the incident by one of the main participants, Mr. W. Czumer, newspaper clippings from the Edmonton Capital, The Edmonton Bulletin, the Vegreville

Observer, and the Ukrainian newspaper The Nowyny. Annual reports, Ordinances, and Reports of the Council of Public Instruction for the Northwest Territories were also studied; and a review of the literature on the causes of conflict and of conflict management strategies was undertaken.

Data Collection

Informal interviews were undertaken with residents of the area to explain the study, to gain acceptance, and to try and ascertain who in the community might know more on the subject and be willing to talk about it. It quickly became apparent that the few residents who had any recollection of the 80 year old events were still embarrassed by them and unwilling to talk about them. Emotions still ran high on the subject. Their body language and their reluctance to answer questions on the incident indicated that this topic was best left alone.

An attempt to obtain archival material proved to be frustrating. The frustration lay not only in the fact that there was very little material but also because it was learned that some of it had been shredded and that much of it lay in boxes in some backroom, not as yet catalogued.

Numerous attempts were made to find the court records pertaining to the demise of Mariia Kapitsky, a central figure in the conflict. All attempts however, proved fruitless. They were apparently "lost".

Data Analysis

Standard content analysis techniques were used to analyze the data. Accounts of the event were written from varying perspectives. As a main participant in the event, Czumer's account is detailed and biased. With this in mind, other perspectives were studied. At the height of the

conflict the various newspapers provided colourful interpretations of the perceived "wrongs". The Revolt is analyzed in Chapter four using Dahrendorf's four tenets--change, conflict, disintegration, and coercion. Some causes of intergroup conflict pertaining to the event are identified as are some of the strategies used to resolve them.

D. LIMITATIONS

The limitations of this study arise from the research methods used. There is limited written information on the issue and it was assumed that the information that was gathered was accurately presented. The archival data are also limited by the recollective abilities of their authors and by their biases.

The informal interviews that were carried out were limited by the fact that few residents were left with any knowledge of the event. Another limitation was the time factor. Eighty years have passed since the incident and this factor undoubtedly affected their recollective abilities. The informal interviews were also limited by the reluctance and/or unwillingness of those approached to discuss the event.

This study is further limited by my biases, which affected the interpretation of this historical event and the subsequent analysis of it.

E. TERMS

To aid in understanding the study, the following terms warrant explanation:

Galicia and Bukowina - two provinces in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The early Ukrainian immigrants (circa 1900) were referred to in popular speech as well as in

official reports by a variety of names including Austrians, Galicians, Bukowinians, Ruthenians, Little Russians and even Gallatians. According to Kaye (1964), the terms Bukowinian and Galacian were politico-geographical designations that were generally applied to Ukrainians, while Ruthenian and Ukrainian were ethnic designations of the same group. Until the term Ukrainian was generally adopted there was considerable confusion of names. The term quickly spread in common usage in Canada after the great war and revolutionary events in Europe and the adoption of official names there. By 1940 the term Ukrainian was officially and unofficially accepted. In this study the terms Bukowinian and Ukrainian refer to the group of immigrants that came from either Bukowina or Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

En Bloc - the settlement pattern adopted by the Ukrainian immigrants. The entire block of land, north-east and east of Edmonton was primarily occupied by Ukrainian settlers. This settlement pattern is also referred to in the literature as "block", "bloc" or "enbloc".

Panshchyna - equivalent of the corvee, whereby the peasant was required to work on the lord's estate for no pay.

Sobernost - the comfort, solace, and the sense of community that the Ukrainian peasants found in their faith.

Podvig - the suffering one must endure to attain eternal salvation. This fatalistic belief was borne of centuries of conflict and oppression.

Weltanschauung - a group's view of life.

F. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The study of The Great Ruthenian School Revolt is organized into five chapters:

Chapter One contains a statement of the problem, its justification, and a section on the methodology. This is

followed by a description of the design of the study, a list of the sources of data, and a brief explanation of how the data were analyzed. The concluding part of the chapter includes a discussion of the limitations of the study, and a section clarifying the terminology.

Chapter Two is devoted to a review of the related literature and research in the following areas: some theories on social order; the background to the Ukrainian's emigration and their life upon entering Canada; the Bukowina School Incident; some causes of intergroup conflicts; and some of the strategies used to resolve them.

In Chapter Three the background to the Ukrainian's emigration is discussed and a brief account of their early history is given.

In Chapter Four I use the four basic tenets of Dahrendorf's coercion model of society to analyze the events and conditions leading up to the Revolt, as well as the Revolt itself.

Conclusions and implications for further study are found in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

The literature review is comprised of five sections. The first section briefly discusses the frame of reference in which this event will be analyzed. The second section looks at the historical background to the case being studied, and the Ukrainian peasants' life in Canada. Section three briefly reviews the literature that describes the Bukowina School Incident. The fourth section looks at some of the main causes of intergroup conflict. The last section reviews the most common ways of managing conflict.

A. FRAME OF REFERENCE

The sociology of organizations offers a number of different paradigms for viewing social realities. Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest four major paradigms in organizational sociology: the functionalist paradigm, the interpretive paradigm, radical humanism, and radical structuralism. These perspectives account for most of the research done in social theory, organizational studies, and educational administration (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The functionalist paradigm sees the social world as objective, real, and concrete. All things have a function and serve a purpose. It assumes that things are right as they are and it does not challenge the social order. This view of organizations was not appropriate to use in attempting an analysis of the Revolt since the basic unit of analysis is role, i.e. "a complex of behaviour expectations which are associated with a given social position or status" (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 120). In structural analysis individuals are only the incumbents of such positions and the "players" of roles. These roles however, are not a

"given", they are not created "de novo". They have a "historical reality that has resulted in differences in power, differences that have led to forms of domination by some over others" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 56). They cannot, then, be analyzed independent of their historical context.

The problems in using this paradigm to analyze the Revolt were two fold. It was not the role of the individual, but rather the role of the school that created conflict between the two groups. A small group of Ukrainians did not believe things were right as they were and challenged the social order.

The interpretive paradigm sees the organization as a social construct -- an idea shared by others -- rather than an objective reality. In this view the individuals of the organization are the reality: "shared and consensual sense making guides behaviour, and a large part of our organizational lives involves constructing and interpreting meaning" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 56). The methodology used involves questioning the "natural" structures and events. Individuals engage in activities and events and then try to describe the engagement in terms of rational conduct in order to try and understand how individuals come to understand one another.

The use of this paradigm in an analysis of the Revolt presented two problems. The first involved the fact that the events and structures were not "natural" and the second was in trying to describe the Revolt in terms of rational conduct. It was not rational conduct.

The third paradigm, radical humanism, shares much in common with the interpretive paradigm but it expands on it by maintaining that socially created structures also satisfy material interests. In this view, individuals create their own worlds in consort with others but "they do so in the context of historically determined social structures that

constrict free consciousness and serve the interests of only some individuals" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 57). In these historical social structures power and domination are major factors. Radical humanists examine the forms and expressions of power with an end goal of creating more equitable and just social structures.

Although the tenets of this paradigm can help explain the Revolt, the end goal of the few Ukrainians who were involved in the event was not so much the creation of a more just social structure as much as merely wanting a Ukrainian teacher to teach their children.

Burrell and Morgan's (1979) last paradigm, radical structuralism, shares the functionalist paradigm's assumption that social structures exist and are open to investigation. This view claims that social structures arise out of material interests to become dominating forces. Society is seen as "concrete expressions of conflicting interests" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 57). An analysis using this paradigm has a Marxist nature that studies the inequalities that are generated by capitalistic systems.

In this particular study the basic issue did not involve inequalities generated by a capitalist system. It was a problem of the different world views generating conflict.

Dahrendorf's (1959) coercion theory of society addresses the issue of social inequality and its tenets were best suited to an analysis of the Revolt. Dahrendorf developed his theory in an attempt to analyze class conflict in an industrial society. Although his theory shares, with the radical structuralists, the assumption that society is composed of unequal forces, he views the social structure differently. This theory views the social structure "as a form of organization [which is] held together by force and constraint and [which] ... produces within itself the forces that maintain it in an unending process of change"

(Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 159). Change and conflict therefore are assumed to be ubiquitous and all elements of the social structure are, in this view, related to instability and change. In this perspective, the result of coercion and constraint is unity and coherence.

Although Dahrendorf developed this theory to analyze class conflict in an industrial society, I feel that the assumptions are appropriate to use in analyzing a conflict between a particular ethnic group and a dominant society. This analysis will be attempted in Chapter Four.

B. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS

Throughout the 19th century the Ukrainian people were divided between the Russian Empire (the Romanovs) and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (the Hapsburgs). In 1900, there were 17 million Ukrainians living in the Russian Empire and about 3.7 million in the Austro-Hungarian Empire -- 3 million in the province of Galicia and 300,000 in the province of Bukowina (Himka, 1982).

The social situation in these two provinces before migration, is detailed in Himka's (1982) essay "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukowina, 1848-1914". He describes the hardships the peasants endured and places emphasis on their socio-economic and national awakening. Despite the emphasis he placed upon this phenomenon, Himka (1982) concluded that it did not result in any significant changes and that peasant conditions remained intolerable.

Further glimpses into the kind of life the peasants endured can be seen in excerpts from Kostash's (1977) book, All of Baba's Children. Her book is a personal account of Ukrainian-Canadians in the west. She is a well known journalist and professional writer who wrote the book "to demystify the prevalent mythologies, indulged by both

Ukrainian-Canadians and non-Ukrainian-Canadians, about ethnic history in the prairies" (p. 3). A substantial amount of her information came from interviews she held with Ukrainians in the Two Hills area of Alberta, many of whom seem to share her political orientation. She deals with a number of themes in the book including those of social conflict, nationalism, and racism. Nowhere in her chapter devoted to the issue of racism, however, is there any mention of the Ukrainian's prejudices nor is there any mention of their xenophobic views. These shortcomings do not, however, deter from the importance of this work, which offers first hand accounts of what life was like for these immigrants. The strongest point of the book seems to be its relatively objective account of multiculturalism.

Another account of the peasants' appalling economic state in Galicia and Bukowina before immigration is given in Petryshyn's (1985) book, Peasants In The Promised Land. Following an account of their appalling state is a discussion of the formative period of Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada, which is detailed from the perspective of both the immigrants and the host society. In his account of this period he explores the intellectual and social roots of both groups in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the two. According to Petryshyn, the Ukrainian immigrants' Weltanschauung is an important factor to consider when attempting to understand their responses to the political, social, religious, and economic milieu of their new country.

Conditions in the old world and the new world are contrasted in two articles in Lupul's (1988) edited book, Continuity and Change. Himka's article, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine," presents a very non-traditional view of the peasants' economic and cultural position in the old world. Although intriguing, his hypothesis that the immigrants were at first not only

culturally more backward than most Canadians but were also more culturally backward than their fellow countrymen in the old country, is not supported in the literature (Kaye, 1964; Lupul, 1988; Petryshyn, 1985).

The second article in Lupul's book deals with conditions in Western Canada at the turn of the century. Martynowych's article "The Ukrainian block settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930" discusses how technology influenced the immigrants and demonstrates the importance of the rural communities and their cultural organizations. His article includes a section on schooling problems in the settlement, with reference being made to the particular situation at Bukowina School.

Another important reference to the early Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada is Kaye's book, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900. His research is based almost entirely on primary and documentary sources such as naturalization lists, original letters, memoranda, correspondence of immigration officers, and files of a Ukrainian weekly newspaper. He presents the history of the beginnings of Ukrainian settlement in Canada from both an historical and a sociological viewpoint. His study also revealed that although most historians associated the first immigration movement with Laurier's administration, some of the important foundation work was done by the prior administration -- Macdonald and the National Policy.

There are several sources that describe the Great Ruthenian School Revolt in detail. Czumer's (1981) book is a delightful collection of recollections of some of the early pioneers who came to the West. Czumer was the central figure in the Bukowina School event and there is a lengthy and detailed section of this event in Chapter 9.

A more tempered account of events at the Bukowina School is found in MacGregor's (1969), Vilni Zemli in Chapters 12 and 13, where Czumer is described as "a well

practised politician and orator" (p. 228). References to the event were also found in Annual reports, Ordinances, and Reports of the Council of Public Instruction for the Northwest Territories and also in numerous newspaper clippings from the Edmonton Capital, the Edmonton Bulletin, The Vegreville Observer and the Ukrainian newspaper The Nowyny. Many of the newspaper articles describe, from a Liberal standpoint, the social and political events that led to the reaction at Bukowina School.

C. INTERGROUP CONFLICT - SOME CAUSES

Communication

One of the most common causes of organizational conflict, as seen in the literature, is blocks in communication. Of relevance to this study is the type where two groups are unable to communicate because they speak different languages. According to a number of authors this results in an inability to share the same social perspectives which leads to conflicting definitions of a situation and this in turn makes it difficult to decide on a course of action (Haas & Schaffir, 1978; Bernard, Pear, Aron & Angell, 1957; Koulack & Perlman, 1973). Each side then, exaggerates the differences that exist, developing stereotypes that maintain the conflict.

Another view of language as a cause of conflict is given by Horowitz (1985) who sees it as a symbol of domination and its status as a symbol of group dignity. He writes that "claims for official status of a language are typically demands for an authoritative indication that they have a legitimate claim to greater respect, importance or worth in the society" (Horowitz, 1985, p. 220).

Incompatible Values/Goals

Another common cause of conflict among individuals and/or groups is incompatible values -- where both cannot prevail at the same time, or when two groups have goals that cannot be attained simultaneously (Fisher, 1981; Lippitt, 1982; Boyd, 1989; Haas & Shaffir, 1978). According to Deutsch (1973), a group which believes its value perspective to be intrinsically superior and which tries to force its moral views upon non-believers will likely be involved in a value conflict. Implicit in this conceptualization of conflict is some theory of cost. Where one set of values is selected it is at the expense of the other groups values. Fisher (1981) described this type of conflict as a win-lose situation.

Another perspective on the incompatibility of values and goals is given by Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck's (1973) and by Koulack and Perlman (1973). They write that the difference in the goals of two groups can translate into a difference in value orientations. One which is relevant to this study is described by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1973) as the time orientation. They write that it is the temporal focus of human life and discuss three of these orientations -- the past, present and future.

Another value orientation as described by Koulack and Perlman (1973) is the relational orientation. It is an orientation that focuses on how people relate to one another and is described by these two authors as the collective vs. the individualistic orientations.

Competition for Resources

Yet another important cause of conflict that showed up repeatedly in the readings was competition for resources. The competition for resources can be in terms of wealth,

power, prestige, or property. The unequal distribution of these resources can create hostile attitudes but these attitudes do not necessarily lead to conflict. Coser (1956) states that "hostile attitudes are [only] predispositions to engage in conflict behaviour..." (p. 37). It is when one group rejects the justification for the existing distribution of rights, privileges, and/or resources and believes it is "negatively" privileged that hostile sentiments could develop into social action (Coser, 1956; Owens, 1991).

Collins (1975) states that individuals are basically pursuing their own interests and that conflicts arise when they do not have control over their experiences. A similar view is expressed by Hampton, Summer, and Webber (1978). They say that conflict occurs when an individual looks to satisfy his security, affiliative, or esteem needs in a group situation or when he tries to promote his own interests and the group demands conformity or stressful behaviour.

The competition for resources causes conflict within groups as well as between groups. Ryan (1990) discusses how contact between two groups leads to domination, subordination, and inequality of power.

Hocker and Wilmot (1985) argue that conflict cannot be studied without also investigating power:

> Power is necessary to move a conflict along to some kind of productive management. If people have no influence over each other, they cannot participate in conflict together. Power is central to the study of conflict and can be used for productive or destructive ends. In fact, we only have options about whether use of power will be destructive or productive for ourselves and our relationships. (pp. 71-72)

Other areas where intergroup conflict is likely to occur include a group's status, and its members' desire for autonomy (Collins, 1975, Deutsch, 1973;).

Role Conflict

There was general consensus in the literature that this type of conflict exists when the role that is imposed on an individual because he is a member of a group or organization, differs from the role or pattern of behaviour he prefers and thinks he can perform (Boulding, 1962; Fris, 1992; Fisher, 1981; Owens, 1991). Haas and Shaffir (1978) write that social interaction often involves tension and conflict: "There is ... always rivalry between the spontaneous definitions of the situation made by a member of an organized society and the definitions which his society has provided for him." (p. 251). Fisher (1981), Owens (1991), and Fris (1992) see role conflict occurring when a person is expected to behave in incompatibly different ways by two or more important other people; when their role prescription is ambiguous; or when there is conflict in carrying out the role.

In writing of role conflict, Haas & Shaffir (1978) state, "No matter what one's theoretical orientation may be, he has no reason to expect to find consequences between attitudes and actions and every reason to expect discrepancies between them" (p. 315).

D. INTERGROUP CONFLICT - SOME RESOLUTION TECHNIQUES

Four techniques used in managing conflict came up repeatedly in the literature. They include: avoidance, aggression, compromise, and collaboration.

Avoidance

When conflict occurs some groups or individuals may withdraw from the situation. The parties may avoid contact with each other to avoid confronting the problem. Owens

(1991) describes the avoidance responses to confrontation as withdrawal, peaceful co-existence, apathy, and indifference. The interesting outcome of these responses to latent conflict, he says, is that "although conflict is not inevitable, neither is agreement possible" (Owens, 1991, p. 256). Hostile aftermath may be avoided by using this technique but the problem remains. According to Owens (1991), the techniques of avoidance or appeasement are not the "management" of conflict at all; they are merely short-term responses that ignore the problem.

Hampton, Summer, and Webber (1978), and Hocker and Wilmot (1985) discuss a strategy whereby the parties avoid dealing with the conflict by appealing to hierarchy. They shift responsibility to another, whether it be to God, to chance, or to a higher authority in a judicial, bureaucratic, or hierarchical structure.

Aggression

When involved in a conflict situation, most individuals or groups instinctively want to win.

> Confrontation, non-negotiable demands, and ultimatums have become the order of the day as the way of dealing with deep-seated differences. One party marshals all its forces to compel the other party to do what the first has decided it wants. Confrontation is from a fixed position and seeks to mobilize the power to win. (Haas & Shaffir, 1978, p. 242)

According to Owens (1991) this win-lose orientation to conflict has several basic characteristics. The two parties involved see their interests to be mutually exclusive; there is no compromise possible; one must win at the other's expense; and there is no hope of reasoning with one another.

Fisher (1981), and Cooze (1990) describe the win-lose strategy in dealing with conflict as forcing. It occurs when one party wins over another because it has more power

in the organization, when the conflict is appealed to a superior, or when it is referred to a neutral third party. The authors suggest that this method may be necessary if the parties have an adversarial relationship.

There are, however, several problems with this method stemming from the superior role that power and force play in its implementation. Forcing can cause feelings of bitterness in the losing party and the most powerful party is not always the one that is most competent to make the decision. Another problem with this method is that the parties may become dependent upon power to resolve their conflicts (Fisher, 1981). Owens (1991) goes further, saying that the hostility that is created between the winning and losing groups will undoubtedly lead to further confrontations.

Both the avoidance and aggressive response to conflict have no long term benefits for the organization. The aggressive response, in particular, tends to "build ... dysfunctional behaviours resulting in a downward spiral of organizational climate, performance, and overall organizational health" (Owens, 1991, p. 254). It is almost universally viewed as a destructive method of dealing with conflict.

Compromise/Bargain

Compromising is a process of giving and taking. Each side gives up something and moves to a middle position to arrive at an agreement. Thomas (1976) describes this as the sharing orientation, in which the parties' desire to satisfy their own and other's concerns are identified as moderate assertiveness - moderate cooperativeness (in Owens, 1991, chap. 9).

This approach to managing conflict is generally seen as yet another "best possible response" to conflict, depending

on the circumstances (Cooze, 1990). Again, it has no long term benefits and its weaknesses are similar to those of the avoidance and aggressive approaches. This process, once initiated, often precludes the possibility of finding better alternative solutions to the problem. The parties are usually less than satisfied with the outcome because their desires have not been met nor have the original problems been dealt with (Fisher, 1981; Owens, 1991).

The compromising approach to managing conflict has also been described as bargaining. Owens (1991) writes that bargaining is not a process designed to produce optimal solutions. Neither side will likely be satisfied with the outcome and one side will likely walk away with more than the other because it will have been more skilled and/or more hard-nosed in negotiations. Bargaining, Owens (1991) says, "is essentially an adversarial procedure - if not downright underhanded - using 'dirty tricks' and wily ploys to gain advantage" (p. 258). As has been noted by a number of authors, the process often engenders resentment and mistrust, resulting in dysfunctional behaviour in the organization (Owens, 1991; Fisher, 1981; Hampton, Summer, & Webber, 1978).

Another interesting approach to handling conflict is found in Walton and McKersie's (1965) A Behavioral Theory of Labor Negotiations. It is known as the attitudinal structuring model and it focuses on the attitudinal dimensions of negotiations. It is believed that "groups share a 'relationship pattern' [that is] a set of reciprocal attitudes salient to the parties in their interaction" (p. 185). These theorists believe that attitudes and relationship patterns play an important role in bargaining negotiations and that this dimension of negotiations has not been adequately studied. The goal of attitudinal structuring is to purposely change the attitudes and motivation of people; the way they think and feel.

Tactics include influencing the opponents' cognitions and shifting rewards and punishment to change behaviour (Walton & McKersie, 1965).

Collaboration

Collaboration is a process whereby parties work together to define the problems and then work together to solve them. Owens (1991) defines several requirements that are necessary for this process to be effective:

a) the parties involved must want to use this process;
b) they must be able to communicate and work in groups; and
c) they must possess attitudes that support a climate of openness, trust, and frankness.

Fisher (1981) sees communication as the key requirement to the success of this method. He states that the parties need to be able to explore their positions clearly and they need to be able to listen to the other side's point of view.

Collaboration is considered to be the highest level of win-win conflict management and also the most difficult. The effort required may be worth it in the long term as it leaves the conflicting groups with new skills and understandings that can be used repeatedly in dealing with future conflicts (Owens, 1991). The groups try to reach a solution that fully satisfies the concerns of both parties, through mutual problem solving. Thomas (1976) sees the solution to the conflict "as a genuine integration of the desires of both sides" (in Owens, 1991, p. 257). In the process there is open use of information, differences become clarified and admitted, conflict energy is used creatively, interpersonal relations and problem solving skills are

worked on, and the process usually produces a strong commitment to the solution, since so much time and energy was expended in developing it (Fisher, 1981; Owens, 1991).

It is, however, the most difficult process to use because many people are resistant to the behavioral changes it requires. Some fear that in using this approach someone (including themselves) may get hurt. Others feel it is too soft a method. They believe that strength as an individual can only be maintained through a more dominant approach. This technique also requires a larger amount of time and effort than the other approaches. Therefore, although most authors are in agreement that this is in many ways the best approach, it is not always the most practical (Cooze, 1990; Hocker & Wilmot, 1985).

CHAPTER 3

A. INTRODUCTION

The motives for studying history are many and varied. We study history because it enables us to understand how we got to be the way we are. At the same time, however, we must keep in mind that conflicts and controversies are not expressions of contemporary interrelated forces and/or events but, rather, are the culminations of historical processes whose origins are rooted in the past. The importance of these origins "is born of the belief that all ages are equidistant from eternity and that formative influences sometimes tell us more about later developments than immediately precedent circumstances" (Billington, 1966, Preface, p. x). Yet even this approach does not permit us to present a definitive etiological account of the socio-cultural patterns that culminated in the Great Ruthenian School Revolt. Our picture of this phenomenon "has been pre-selected and pre-determined for us, not so much by accident as by people who were consciously or unconsciously imbedded with a particular view and thought the facts that supported that view worth preserving" (Carr, 1961, p. 12). However, a fairly comprehensive understanding of this event and a deeper understanding of the meaning of the education process can be attained by looking at the "Ukrainian experience" in its social context and recognizing "the forces rather than the forms behind it ... forces which seem capable of weaving their own strange web of crises and creativity out of the efforts of men" (Billington, 1966, Preface, p. ix).

B. SETTING THE STAGE: THE INVITATION

In May, 1870, the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada was completed. With the acquisition of this territory, the newly formed Dominion extended to the Rocky Mountains and the Arctic Ocean. But the establishment of this jurisdictional sovereignty was only the first step in attaining national organization. A nation needed to be created on the northern half of the continent. It was therefore necessary to devise an economic policy which would attract people and capital to the country and especially the empty north-west. To this end, Prime Minister Macdonald formulated three major policies under the appealing title, The National Policy. This policy "promised" the industrial development of the East; the settlement and agricultural development of the West; and the construction of a transcontinental railway. An ensuing scandal, a protracted depression, feckless government, and the British lack of enthusiasm for the future of the West had a dampening effect on the objectives of these policies. But, despite setbacks, the policies did produce positive results. The C.P.R., though it continued to be beset by problems, began to prove its worth to the nation; the National Policy did encourage national development; and the West was being settled, albeit slowly.

All of this changed following the 1896 election. "The once vital era of Macdonald, which had sputtered to a dreary conclusion after the death of its guiding spirit, was replaced by the bright and confident administration of Wilfred Laurier" (Lower, 1973, p. 140). While maintaining the National Policy tariff structure, the Laurier government also pursued Macdonald's immigration policy. While the latter's efforts were frustrated by a seemingly endless depression, Laurier's incumbency began with the ending of the depression and "was destined to be spectacularly

successful in developing the West" (Lower, 1973, p. 141). To promote Western settlement, the Liberal government embarked on an effective campaign to attract appropriate farmers. Although they preferred immigrants from Western Europe or the United States, insufficient numbers of "suitable" settlers and/or restrictive laws prohibited the emigration of these "desirables." The government had no choice but to look to Austro-Hungary for the required farmers.

So an ambitious promotional campaign was implemented. Instrumental in making the campaign successful was Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior.

> Under his leadership the Canadian government sent out tens of thousands of posters, pamphlets, and advertisements to Europe and the United States telling of the opportunities, the free homesteads, and assisted passages. Agents were sent to important European centres, and the European and American journalists were given expense-paid trips to Canada to see for themselves "the last, best West" and to tell their countrymen of its great promise. (Lower, 1973, p. 142)

In Bukowina and Galicia alone -- Ruthenian populated provinces within the Austro-Hungarian Empire -- 5,000 to 6,000 agents scoured the country promoting the Canadian government's offer of 160 acres of free land and the prospects of good paying jobs. This intensive propaganda was complemented by glowing accounts of Canada by Ivan Pylipiw, one of the first Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada. Further glowing accounts of Canada were found in pamphlets published by a Dr. Joseph Oleskiw, a professor at Lviv University who was one of the generation influenced by populism and the desire to ameliorate the economic and political conditions of the Ukrainian peasants in Galicia. As history has shown, these promotional efforts were markedly successful. But equally effective in stimulating

the exodus of hundreds of thousands of peasants were the political, economic, and social conditions in the Ruthenian provinces of Austro-Hungary.

C. EARLY HISTORY

The Ukrainian Republic of the U.S.S.R. was located roughly between 45 and 50 degrees north latitude and 22 to 40 degrees longitude. The oldest legends coupled with modern archaeological evidence suggests that the north-east corner of this area was most likely the location of the first chieftains of the tribes of Rus. This area was too far east to be influenced by the Roman Empire in the West and too far north to be under the military or economic control of the Byzantine Empire. These Slavic tribes of Rus formed into a fledgling state about the middle of the eighth century and slowly came under the influence of the Byzantine culture. The Princes and Princesses of Rus were attracted to many aspects of the Byzantine culture but were especially interested in the Christian religion (Clarkson, 1961; Cross, 1939).

Princess Olga ruled as regent between 945 and 957 A.D. Under her regency Rus' maintained contact with western rulers and developed extensive cultural relations with Constantinople. She was also among the first to embrace Christianity (Doroshenko, 1939). Although it was her chosen faith, she did not demand her subjects follow suit and most, including her son, continued to worship the ancient gods. These great stone deities like Sviatovid, had probably been venerated long before even the Hun and Avar invaders had crossed and plundered the lands of Rus. They were the gods of the Slav warriors and princelings before they acquired the power and ambition to rule kingdoms. Unlike their gods, who were anchored like Sviatovid in the Earth, the Christian God was an idea and a word and He seemed always to follow in

the wake of the swords of His believers. The deities of Rus fell victim to the political realities of statehood and existence in the Christian world. The lure of Byzantium's wealth -- which was measured in gold and by its cultural achievements -- proved too strong for the Princes of Rus. The faith which was most acceptable to them was that of Orthodox Christianity and in the end they accepted the Orthodox Christian faith of the Byzantine Empire. Annual visits to Constantinople helped to hasten their acceptance of this faith.

> The impact of the imperial city, considered in its physical aspects alone, on the senses of the rude barbarians from the forests and swamps of the north, must have been tremendous. The solemn services in the magnificent cathedral of St. Sophia, the impressive singing, and the overpowering incense, could not fail to sway the mind of the Rus. (Clarkson, 1961, p. 32)

> Then we went to Greece, and the Greeks led us to edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendour or beauty and we are at a loss to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. (Cross, 1930, p. 199)

A millennium passed and, in 988 A.D., St. Vladimir, or Vladimir the Great, ordered the christening of the Kievans. Vladimir, along with his successor Yaroslav, brought Kievan Rus to statehood on a par with the surrounding principalities and kingdoms. The Greeks gave Kievan Rus not only a new religion but also "new ideas of morality and new concepts of the nature and responsibilities of authority" (Kolodchin, 1982, p. 7). The fragile unity of Rus' was based on the power of its rulers, a common written language and a common church organization. Its unity was also based

on a political ideology which legitimized the authority of the Grand Prince as originating in God's will (Kolodchin, 1982).

The next millennium was one of worship, hope, and ambition. It was also one fraught with wars, victories, disasters, plagues, slavery, and death. Internal strife in their fledging state left the doors open for invasions by their enemies. Eastern hordes once again thundered across the steppe and, although the Pecheneg and Polovtsian invasions were thwarted, it was at considerable expense to the Rus. The songs of the Ruthenian wives expressed the blanket of hopelessness and sorrow that had settled over the land:

> No longer can we even in our thoughts imagine,
> Nor fashion in our minds,
> Nor with our eyes behold
> Our precious husbands;
> And never more shall we adorn ourselves
> With gold and silver pendants.
> A flood of sadness swept the land of Rus,
> Distress in mighty spate flowed everywhere...
> (Andrusyshen, 1963, p. 10)

Although these invasions were but a taste of what was yet to come, there seemed to be an inclination toward belief in the podvig -- "the suffering that atones" (Wright, 1917). The belief is that one needs to endure the suffering in order to reach eternal salvation. This fatalistic notion may have been accepted by the peasants well before Christianity was brought to them (Riasanovsky, 1963). They were an agrarian people who had fended off nomadic invaders for about five thousand years and who already had a long history of suffering which continued through the Christian era. Their faith gave them comfort, solace, and a sense of community or "sobornost" in the face of successive waves of invaders.

With time, the ancient practices of their faith and the Christian tenets were syncretized into a unique belief system which would sustain the Ukrainian people to the present day.

The Kievan state, however, was to pass on into history. Invasions from the east in the early 13th. century, including the catastrophic Mongol invasion which destroyed Kiev in 1240, shattered the fragile unity of Rus and resulted in the collapse of the Kievan state (Kolodchin, 1982). For the next 200 years it was open to plunder by Mongols and Tartars.

During this time most of the lands of Rus were under the control of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, the Kings of Poland, and the Tsars of Muscovy. In 1386, in a political move, the Polish and Lithuanian states were united dynastically. This union subjected the Lithuanians and the Orthodox Ruthenians to the forces of Polonization.

In 1569 the Polish and Lithuanian states were united into one Commonwealth. Under this Commonwealth, the peasants were enserfed and commenced a long period of unprecedented hardship (Kolodchin, 1982).

Many chose to flee this harsh treatment, and formed a "Brotherhood" in "no-man's land" near the Dnieper River. They were known as Zaporizhian Cossacks. At times they were used by Poland as part-time border troops. At other times they defended the Orthodox religion of the peasants, particularly after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1596). These frequent changes in allegiance and/or objectives forced the Cossacks to move many times. Despite these moves, they were never obliterated from the hearts and minds of the peasants left behind.

Another group of Cossacks, the Don Cossacks, settled near the River Don, just out of the Tsars of Muscovy's reach. These like-minded "free warriors" were sometimes allied with the Muscovites and sometimes with the Tartars --

depending on the profitability of the arrangement. Although the life of the Cossack has often been romanticized, some human dimensions are portrayed as well.

> These warriors not only fought in
> great glorious battles,
> And revelled in a camaraderie steeped
> in vodka and gunpowder.
> They loved. They lived and worked.
> Fathered and raised children.
> And died! -- Often not on a gallows...
> but, alone and unaided somewhere
> out in the Steppes. (Adamovicz, 1991, p. 12)

The Cossacks were warriors whose hard and often short lives assumed near-mythological proportions in the collective memory of the Ruthenian people.

Another historical symbol to 19th. and 20th. century Ukrainian nationalists was the Zaporizhian Cossack state that was carved out of the Polish Commonwealth by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648-1649. Their freedom was short-lived, however, and they soon found themselves under Russian rule. By 1667, the Ukraine was divided between Russia and Poland along the Dnieper River. Their brief interlude of freedom was but a memory.

Khemelnytsky's dream of gaining freedom for the Cossack state was rekindled some 50 years later when the cossacks, allied with Sweden, went against Peter the Great of Russia. They suffered yet another defeat, this time by the Tsarists armies. The Ruthenian peasants were now completely dominated by their Polish and Russian overlords. Once again fate had bestowed upon them the hopelessness of serfdom, the oppression, the brutality, the poverty and the seemingly endless toil. The poet Shevchenko describes the situation of the peasants:

The place is foul,
This village where dark sorrows prowl:
For blacker than the grim, black earth
Are those who roam the place in dearth;
The orchards, once so green, have shrunk;
The dwellings have decayed and sunk;
The ponds are overgrown with weeds,
And ruin in the village breeds, --
Its very people witless grow
As dumbly to the fields they go
To do forced labour for their lord".
(Andrusyshen, 1963, p. 90)

The peasants tried to maintain some kind of dignity and occasionally, when they had more than they could take, they rose against the lords. More often, however, they just welcomed the attacks of the armed bandits who plundered and burned the landlords' estates.

There was no hope for change until the partitioning of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, 1793, and 1795. The eastern areas of the Ukraine came once again under the control of the Russian Empire and Galicia and later Bukowina were acquired by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was in these provinces that the Ukrainian national consciousness would awaken and so a new era of their existence began. Great Ukrainian poets like Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, and others would now undertake what once the Cossacks had attempted. Through words of prophecy and incitement they would try to save the Ukraine:

Plough on and sing, O Titan, in foul fetters led
Of poverty and ache!
Darkness will pass away, your fetters you will shed,
And every yoke will break!
For not in vain have you, though held in foemen's grips,
Sung forth your mighty soul;
And in vain do fairy tales; enchanted lips
Your victory unroll

> That day will come, and prejudice will bow to toil;
> And as your just reward,
> You'll plough again as master of your own free soil,
> Your own land's rightful lord!
> (Franko, 1956, p. 19)

And it was perhaps hope, curiously allied with podvig and the sobernost, which sustained the Ukrainians. For the provinces of Galicia and Bukowina came over to Austria in a state of poverty and economic ruin. Anarchy, internal strife, wars, and the ruin of foreign trade had brought chaotic disorganization and poverty. The prevailing system of panschyna in Austro-Hungary made the Ukrainian peasants' situation extremely difficult in spite of the fact that they constituted the majority of the population. The situation continued to decline until the peasants felt they had nowhere to turn.

How cruel the life of the Ukrainian serf, peasant, or chlop was under this system is illustrated by a brief description of his relationship to the Pan or landlord.

> When three hundred feet away from the feudal mansion the chlop was required to take off his hat. He could not marry without the permission of the landlord or Pan.
> If the chlop's cattle were sick and he was unable to work the feudal land, he would be told to harness himself and his wife.
> Without permission of the feudal lord, he could not buy or trade, increase or decrease his worldly goods.
> He could not divide the land among his heirs without permission, make loans on it, or improve it. He was simply chattel on the lord's manor. The Pan was his judge, master, taxer, and final administrator. (Skwarok, 1958, p. 4)

During the reign of Ferdinand I, the system of panschyna was definitely abolished. The abolition of serfdom, however, did not end the exploitation by the noblemen. Under the terms of the emancipation, the peasants

received small plots of land and, for a few decades, the peasants were able to sustain their families on these holdings. But as the plots decreased in size, the peasants glutted the labour market and had to work long hours for subsistence wages. And the forests and pastures that they once used freely were appropriated by the nobility after emancipation. "As a result, if the peasant wished to graze his cow, build a cottage, heat his home, or even gather mushrooms, he had to pay the lord in cash or in labour" (Himka, 1982, p. 12).

Nor was the land that the peasant received without encumbrance. After corvee labour was abolished, the nobles demanded compensation. The Austrian Parliament debated and subsequently favoured the nobility who were paid by special supplementary taxes that were levied on the peasants, which, as late as 1880, amounted to 50 per cent of the regular state taxes in Galicia (Himka, 1982).

Additional exploitation of the peasant came with propination or monopoly over the production and sale of alcohol. The landowners took advantage of this privilege even to the point of occasionally forcing the peasant to buy a specific amount of whiskey from their distilleries. The repercussions of propination and other socio-economic and political policies were devastating. "Overburdened by taxation, unable to meet their most meagre needs, and lacking sufficient funds to support themselves properly, they drowned their despair in drink at the tavern" (Skwarok, 1958, p. 6). The peasants drank and the nobles profited. In the mid 1879s the revenue from the propination tax was 5 million gulden per annum. One gulden could support an agricultural worker for two days or it could buy 4 or more litres of alcohol. In Galicia in 1876, 54 million gulden were spent on liquor at a time when perhaps as many as 50,000 Galicians were dying every year from malnutrition or

its attendant diseases. Men risked their lives in the hope of keeping or getting back land they had mortgaged. As the Galician folk-song expresses:

> Oy, I'll go to Buryslavka to
> make some money,
> When I return from Buryslavka,
> I'll be farming my own land. (Himka, 1982, p. 16)

That little patch of serya zemlia -- the warm, damp Mother Earth, the nurturing caring mother -- this was where everything was right with the world, where God intended men to live. But attempts to retain this earth were largely futile. As John-Paul Himka (1982) states:

> The Ukrainian peasant ... was enmeshed in a system of exploitation.... When the Ukrainian peasant looked up, he could see above him, riding on his back, the Polish noble, the Rumanian boyar, the Jewish innkeeper - lender, and a few of his own people as well; but when he looked down all he could see was earth, and precious little of that. (p. 14)

Tavern-keepers and landlords, though, were not the only ones who lived off the labour of the peasant. The priests, Greek Catholic in Galicia and Greek Orthodox in Bukowina, supplemented their state salary and income from their sizable farms and from the fees charged for sacramental rites, weddings, christening, funerals, and prayer services. And as large landholders, they acted like the nobles when the peasants claimed any land-related privileges.

Finding it difficult to support themselves on their shrinking plots of land, some of the peasants earned money by hiring themselves as farm labourers or going to work in Buryslavka -- the extraction of oil and mineral wax from the land around Boryslav, Ukraine. Although this was the most lucrative industry it was also the most brutal. "With the

shafts poorly supported and the air thin and mixed with noxious gases, explosions, cave-ins, broken ropes, and asphyxiation were common occurrences in the oil fields" (Himka, 1982, p. 17).

> So, enmeshed in a system of exploitation, the Ukrainian peasant of Austria knew the hopelessness of working a grudging, shrinking patch of land. They also were tired of the fetid holes of Buryslavka and had enough of the landlords and their large estates. They found intolerable a system in which most of what they earned seemed to accrue ... to everyone but themselves. In the end, many of them decided to turn their backs on this and strike out for lands across the ocean. (Himka, 1982, p. 23)

Those who decided to leave, liquidated their meagre assets and left behind family, friends, and all that was familiar. Enduring the trials of transoceanic and transcontinental travel, these peasants came to what they believed was the Land of Promise. Although many arrived with virtually no economic resources, they all brought with them a strong determination to start a new life in a new land. Along with this determination was brought a Weltanschauung that gave them comfort and solace in this foreign setting. However, it would also eventually be a major factor that culminated in conflict with the dominant society and its respective authorities.

CHAPTER 4

A. INTRODUCTION

The contemporary view of conflict in social organizations is that it is inevitable, often legitimate, and sometimes even desirable because the interdependence between individuals and groups is constantly changing--being redefined--as is the environment in which this social process occurs (Owens, 1991). Coser (1956) and Simmel (1955) also view conflict as a normal and legitimate part of the human social system. "As a stimulus for the creation and modification of norms, conflict makes the readjustment of relationships to changed conditions possible" (Coser, 1956, p. 128). The gaining theoretical acceptance that conflict and change are universal features of social life enables us to satisfactorily deal with the causes and consequences of a small uprising such as the Great Ruthenian School Revolt. As mentioned in the review of the literature, the four basic tenets of Dahrendorf's coercion model of society will be used in the analysis of the revolt. The tenets are as follows:

1. Every society is at every point subject to processes of change.
2. Every society displays at every point dessensus and conflict.
3. Every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change.
4. Every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others. (Dahrendorf, 1959 p. 162)

B. CHANGE - EMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

The changes that occurred in both the dominant Anglo-Saxon society and the Ukrainian immigrant society included changes in the political, demographic, economic, and social aspects of their lives.

During the latter part of the 19th. century and the early part of the 20th. century some important political changes were occurring in the Dominion, many of which were dealt with in Chapter 3. With the passage of the Autonomy Act in 1905, parts of the Northwest Territories were annexed to create the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Both the provincial and Dominion governments were moving towards a democratic political system and as such were concerned with creating a more responsible and representative government. The three tenets of the National Policy were being actively and successfully fulfilled. There was a rapid construction of rail lines which grew from 1,060 miles in 1905 to 3,074 miles in 1912 (Tkach, 1983, p. 93). These lines opened new territory to settlers and lumber and mining companies and gave employment to large numbers of immigrants. The influx of large numbers of immigrants quickly changed the face of this region.

In 1881 Canada had a population of 4,325,000, 59% of which was of British origin. Between 1892 and 1914 approximately 170,000 Ukrainians entered the country. This population growth helped transform the prairies from "a sparsely populated fur-trading region [in the 1870s] into one of the world's major grain exporting agricultural regions [by 1920]" (Martynowych, 1985, p. 64). About 20,000 of these Ukrainian immigrants settled in Alberta (Tkach, 1983).

The population growth of the region was rapid. In 1881 Alberta's population was only about 18,000 but by 1916 it had blossomed to approximately 500,000 (Tkach, 1983). Most

of the earlier immigrants to the province settled in the Edna-Starr area -- about forty miles east of Edmonton. As these and adjacent lands were taken, newer immigrants moved farther afield until the entire block of land north-east and east of Edmonton to the Saskatchewan border was occupied primarily by Ukrainian settlers. By 1916 the settlement covered an area of about 2,500 square miles (Martynowych, 1985, p. 73). The votes of this concentration of Ukrainian immigrants would eventually become an important political consideration.

The majority of Ukrainian immigrants had little political experience. There was, however, a minority of immigrants who had acquired some political experience and strong ideas about national and class interests of their fellow Ukrainians. These immigrants provided the leadership among the Ukrainians at the turn of the century. They acquired experience in Canadian politics by acting as interpreters for government officials, politicians, missionaries, and teachers. Eventually a few were elected to municipal office where they were able to improve their education and gain a better understanding of Canada politically and socially. Most immigrants, however, did not understand how politics affected them nor how political decisions were made. What they had learned, through bitter experiences, was to expect nothing from governments run by the rich (Martynowych, 1985). And, for the first five to ten years, most immigrants were too preoccupied with physical survival and developing their homesteads to bother with politics.

There were political, as well as economic changes occurring in the Dominion during this period. The industrial expansion in Europe was giving rise to a large urban population which was causing an increase in the demand for raw materials. Canada's cheap frontier lands could now compete with the high priced agricultural lands in Europe in

providing foodstuffs. Canada also had the economic advantage of having low freight rates which made trade with it more attractive.

Along with the rapid demographic, political, and economic changes that were occurring during and after the period of mass immigration, were the inevitable social changes in Canadian society. One can imagine the reaction of the
Anglo-Saxons when they first saw these Ukrainian immigrants on the streets of prairie towns. Their strange costumes and unfamiliar language were indeed considered peculiar. It is not surprising, then, that reactions to Ukrainian immigration were damning. As early as 1897, the editor of the Calgary Herald expressed alarm about the masses of Ukrainians that had arrived in the West. "Canada," he said, "was never intended to be made a dumping ground for the useless surplus population of Eastern Europe" (Calgary Herald, July 15, 1897, p. 6). Novelists and journalists perpetuated the stereotype image of the Ukrainian immigrant with his unfamiliar customs. While the "Galician" immigration to Western Canada was sanctioned by the railway company, eastern capitalists, and government, "it infuriated, disgusted, and appalled and plagued just about everybody else" (Kostash, 1977, p. 34). The image of the dirty and immoral Galician was also accepted by some members of Parliament. In his speech in the House of Commons, Frank Oliver asserted: "Now transplant in the North-West ... [Galicians] and you put a collar around the neck of your civilized and progressive settlers" (Debates of the House of Commons, 1899, pp. 8522-25). This stereotyping was also present in the literature, notably in Woodsworth's (1972) Strangers Within Our Gates, where he expresses his less than charitable sentiments towards his "Galician Brethren":

> The Galician figures, disproportionately to his numbers, in the police courts and penitentiary. Centuries of poverty and oppression have, to some extent, animalized him. Drunk, he is quarrelsome and dangerous. The flowers of courtesy and refinement are not abundant in the first generation immigrant. (p. 112)

It was in this atmosphere of prejudice and discrimination, unable to communicate or to understand their hosts' values and culture, that the immigrants experienced what has been called "immigrant alienation." Hobart (1966) conducted a study in the early 1960s on the causes and consequences of alienation and of integration among Ukrainians in Alberta. He used the classical concept of marginality in this study, which says that the world of the immigrant is a marginal one. He finds himself in between the culture and social structure of the society he came from and the new society he is now a part of. According to this concept his life will remain somewhat marginal because he will never be completely of one society. A part of him will always remain of the old society although he is no longer in it and a part of him will be in the new society although he is not of it. Being betwixt and between both cultures could leave the immigrant with a sense of alienation. If these indicators existed in the 1960s, imagine how much more poignant these aspects of alienation must have been during the turn of the century.

The Ukrainian peasants were alienated from the old country in physical terms and perhaps they also sensed a certain amount of jealousy or rejection from those left behind (Hobart, 1966). Once in Canada they encountered frequent discrimination and rejection by the hosts which only heightened their sense of alienation. Feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation were aspects of alienation that were felt by many of the new immigrants (Hobart, 1966). Their sense of social isolation

came from experiencing disdain and rejection from the Anglo-Saxons. Their sense of powerlessness from not "knowing the ropes" of the new society. This left them at the mercy of their hosts' prejudices. For those who could not come to terms with the conflicts of the old and new worlds, it was difficult to foresee a meaningful future. The immigrants' feeling of alienation was heightened by the fact that neither the Anglo-Saxons nor their countrymen back in the fatherland could realize or sympathize with the difficulties of their situation.

A sense of alienation, a common language, and a shared cultural frame of reference were factors that drew the immigrants together to form "bloc" settlements, making it unnecessary for their members to choose between different sets of expectations and beliefs. This settlement pattern effectively isolated the Ukrainians from their English speaking neighbours. These settlements were almost an autonomous society within the larger society and were maintained in a purely defensive manner. The first concern of these immigrants was to attend to their many needs and what they lacked in material goods to help them with their formidable, task they made up for in hard work, tenacity and with their agricultural skills. Once they had settled on the land they began to organize churches, reading circles, schools, and other social, political, and economic institutions. Benevolent Associations were formed primarily as insurance societies with sick relief and death benefits. They were also social organizations whose many functions included supporting orphanages and old age homes. Ukrainian National Homes (<u>prosvitas</u>) were formed and were the centre of social, educational, and recreational activities in the community. Choral practices and dramatic performances were held there, as well as after-school classes for teaching languages, history, and literature.

Churches in the old Byzantine style were also erected. By 1912 some ninety schools had been formed in the Ukrainian communities. After the abolition of the bilingual school system in Alberta in 1916, "bursas" or student hostels were established. They were similar to residential schools in that students came from outlying districts, boarded there, and learned the Ukrainian language and other related subjects. Post offices, roads, newspapers, hospitals, and general stores mushroomed in these settlements. In their family lives they practised their culinary traditions, retained traditional feasts and Holy Days, and continued the crafts developed in the old country (i.e., wood carving, embroidering, and weaving). In these concentrated, independent settlements the members enjoyed new found freedom. Zorbaugh (1929) describes how important the ethnic community was to the immigrant:

> In the colony he meets with sympathy, understanding, and encouragement. There he finds his fellow-countrymen who understand his habits and standards and share his life experience and viewpoint. In the colony he has a status, plays a role in a group. In the life of the colony's streets and cafes, in its church and benevolent societies, he finds that he can live, be somebody, satisfy his wishes - all of which is impossible in the strange world outside. (cited in Haas & Shaffir, 1978, p. 27)

At least one author believed, however, that some of the more "radical" Ukrainian leaders wanted to form a new Ukraine in Western Canada. But this view is not supported in the literature (Lysenko, 1947). The bloc settlements were created because of linguistic and behavioral bonds and as support systems to endure the many hardships they faced and not for any "nationalistic" purposes.

The concept of "institutional completeness" introduced by Breton (1964), offers an explanation of why some ethnic groups successfully maintain themselves and preserve their

identity. The concept refers to "the degree to which [an] ethnic community can provide the services required by its members" (Haas and Shaffir, 1978, p. 31). Breton collected data from immigrants of 30 different ethnic groups and concluded that the greater the number of institutions an ethnic group possesses, the more likely it is to maintain its membership and its identity. If all their needs were satisfied by their own institutions and they never had to rely on the dominant culture's institutions for food, work, clothes, medicine, or social assistance they could preserve their ethnic identity and community. The Ukrainians were the most highly and thoroughly organized of any immigrant group in Canada. The structure of their enbloc settlements had the desired effect of perpetuating their language and cultural traditions, -- especially with the first generation immigrants who faithfully carried on the social and religious rites and rituals from their homeland (Lysenko, 1947). Concomitantly, to politicians and educators, the "enbloc" settlement pattern, with its potential for perpetuating endogenous and xenophobic values, only underscored the need to assimilate the foreigners into Canadian society. Goggin, Superintendent of Education in the Northwest Territories, emphatically expressed his view on this issue:

> One of the most pressing ... problems arises from the settlement among us of so many nationalities in the block or "colony" system.
> It would be criminal to shut our eyes to the fact that this rapid increase of a foreign and relatively ignorant population is at once a challenge and an invitation to our institutions.
> To assimilate these races, to secure the cooperation of these alien forces, are problems demanding for their solution, patience, tact, and tolerant but firm legislation. (Report of the Council of Public Instructions for the North-West Territories, 1898, pp. 11-12)

Protestant missionaries were also concerned over the assimilation of these foreigners. They believed the Slavs to be

> ... wily, feeble, dependent on others, lacking in initiative, and morally lax....[It was necessary therefore] to work over this mass of crude material and incorporate it into the bone and sinew of our national life. (Martynowych, 1985, p. 70)

The missionaries justified British dominance "by asserting that the British Empire was the secular vehicle of Providence--the divinely selected instrument for the global propagation of Protestant Christianity" (Martynowych, 1985, p. 69). The schools were seen as the best vehicle to use to assimilate the foreigners. Education would provide a common language and a common set of shared experiences which would result in similar attitudes. This in turn would provide the integration that would contribute to the maintenance of an English society. The 1901 School Ordinance was a piece of legislation designed to further the assimilation process. It made school attendance compulsory between the ages of seven and twelve; required that school districts be established when certain criteria were met; and defined truancy regulations and penalties for those who defied the compulsory attendance laws (The School Ordinance, 1901, pp. 233 and 204).

In 1905, shortly after Alberta became a province, further changes in the field of education occurred. First, a Department of Education was established to replace the Territorial one. Second, departmental leadership was felt to be important at that time since many of the settlements were being organized into school districts. With this in mind, the positions of Minister of Education, Deputy Minister, and Inspector of Schools were created.

The changes in educational policy mentioned above were reflected in the numbers of school districts that were organized in the province. In 1890 there were 35 school districts in what was to become the province of Alberta. By the end of 1906 there were 746, and by 1912 the number had jumped to 3,027 (Kach, 1983, p. 104). In the large Ukrainian colony of Edna-Starr, 90 school districts had been organized by 1912 (Sixth Annual Report, 1911).

Generally, the Ukrainian settlers responded positively to the requirements of schooling. They knew the disadvantages of illiteracy and desired a better fate for their children. As Kostash (1977) explains:

> Dad felt that the Ukrainians had been tillers of soil too long.
> No sentimentality ... about the ... nature of farm work and its attendant status; the children, as many of them as possible, were bred for destinies more rewarding than picking rocks, pulling roots, stooking, baling hay, and shovelling grain. A threat, in fact. As if they were saying, if you can't read and write, you are doomed to slog out a life like all the generations before you; bending your back until you can't straighten out again. (pp. 65-66)

They believed the only way to break out of the cycle of despair, self-abnegation, and fatalism that they found themselves in was for the schools to cultivate a respect for education and an enthusiasm for learning in their children (Martynowych, 1985). Inspectors' assessments regarding the status of education in the Ukrainian "bloc" are illustrative of their desire to break the curse of illiteracy.

> The trustee boards [in the Ruthenian districts], as a rule, deserve credit for the time they devote and the interest they take in administering the affairs of their districts. (Fifth Annual Report, 1910, p. 69)
> In some of the Ruthenian schools the progress is quite surprising. (Sixth Annual Report, 1911, p. 57)

Although they recognized their children needed some education, they were also aware that the schools' mandate was to assimilate. To the immigrants, the Ukrainian culture was too precious to be lost within a generation or two and, to their minds, no institution was better suited to preserve their heritage than the school. In particular, bilingual (Ukrainian - English) teachers could assure the preservation of the language and other significant aspects of the indigenous culture. But in the latter years of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century, such teachers were not available in Alberta. However, in the aftermath of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, a Ukrainian normal school was established in Manitoba in 1907. Two years later, a similar institution was opened in Regina. In 1912, a number of graduates from these training schools were hired by local school boards in the Mundare - Andrew - Vegreville area. As far as the Ukrainian immigrants were concerned, these teachers would meet provincial requirements and, at the same time, serve the needs of the respective communities.

C. CONFLICT, DISINTEGRATION, AND COERCION

Many of the conflicts between the dominant group and the Ukrainian immigrants were precipitated by their differing world views. These Weltanschauungen were a latent source of conflict which could be triggered and become overtly manifested in specific circumstances, particularly when they challenged civic expectations. The key to understanding why these differing world views generated such antagonism and conflict is in a brief comparison of the historic experiences of both groups.

KEY HISTORIC EXPERIENCES

DOMINANT SOCIETY (ANGLO-SAXONS)	IMMIGRANT SOCIETY (UKRAINIANS)
1. A democratic tradition that dates back to at least 1215 and the signing of the Magna Carta - Concomitant with the evolution of democracy is the citizen's increasing confidence in his/her ability to control personal political destiny.	1. Initially, the indigenous population was subjected to the pillage of waves of different nomadic tribes and to the authoritarian rule of several sovereign powers.
2. Members of the dominant society were descendants of the Northern and Western Europeans. During the 14th., 15th., and 16th. centuries, the latter had experienced the intellectual revival known as the Renaissance.	2. The eastern Europeans, particularly the peasants and serfs, were untouched by the Renaissance.
3. The Anglo-Saxons have a tradition of questioning the most basic of beliefs. Early in the 16th. century, the practices of the	3. Given the genesis and evolution of orthodoxy in Kiev (Ukraine) (see Chapter 3, pp. 64-67), no distinction was made between ritual and doctrine. Consequently,

prevailing traditions were questioned.	doctrine was never questioned. "Right praising" was of ultimate importance.
The Anglo-Saxons reflected Kluckhohn's future orientation, for they emphasized a bigger and better future and had a high valuation of change.	The consequence was, in Kluckhohn's words, a past orientation where a group's focus is on ancestor worship and family traditions.
4. By the middle of the 18th. century, another intellectual movement swept across Western Europe -- the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers/writers challenged the authority of the church and state. They espoused the principles of equality, liberty, and fraternity. Old beliefs were challenged and optimism was substituted for the gloomy supernaturalism. Reason was made the final authority on all matters.	4. The area inhabited by the Ukrainian population did not experience the Enlightenment. The scientific method, particularly among the peasants, was unknown. Tradition, myth, and superstition defined the manner in which they saw themselves and their place in the universe.
5. In Western Europe -- the continent of origin	5. An indigenous form of feudalism prevailed with

of the members the dominant society -- dramatic economic changes occurred over time. The economic system evolved from feudalism to capitalism and free enterprise. Concomitant with this concept is the belief in the individual's ability to determine his/her destiny.	no opportunity to improve one's lot in life.
6. By the late 18th. and early 19th. century, Western Europe and even Ontario were transformed by the Industrial Revolution. This brought an end to the apprenticeship system and split the trades into separate processes.	6. Primitive agricultural practices, the apprenticeship system, and cottage industries continued into the 20th. century.
7. Western Europe witnessed the development of modern science, beginning with the Renaissance to the work of Newton (1643-1727) and his method of explanatory induction.	7. No evidence of modern science.

For the Anglo-Saxons, there evolved a social ethos of confidence and boundless expectations. Individuals believed that they were in control of their destinies. The belief also existed that British institutions and British culture were the most highly developed in the world, and that consequently this must be testimony of their superiority.

Such beliefs led to a Canadian immigration policy that was biased in favour of Anglo-Saxon immigrants from northern Europe as the Canadian government did not want the inferior races or peoples from eastern and northern Europe to "pollute British blood." The dominant Anglo-Saxon group in Canada used the notion of biological purity to defend its position, and felt that it was its manifest destiny to assimilate other nationalities and particularly the Ukrainian peasant masses.

For the illiterate, oppressed Ukrainian peasants on the other hand, there existed a feeling of resignation and an acceptance of passive fatalism. Xenophobia, superstition, and provincialism persisted to the 20th. century.

There were a number of Ukrainian proverbs which helped to explain and ease incomprehensible events or tragedies. Based on feelings of resignation and misery they were appropriate not only in the Bukowinian or Galician settings but also in the early years in Canada:

> Rusyna Pan sotvoryv na bidu ta na nuzhdu
> The landlord created the Ruthenian for poverty and destitution.
> Tak bud iak Boh dast
> It will be as God wills.
> Dolia ne pytaie: Schcho Khoche te i daie
> Fate does not ask: what it wills it gives.
> De nema boliu tam nema i zhyttia
> Without pain there is no life.
> (Martynowych, 1978, p. 84)

Given these differing world views, conflicts arising from the language, cultural barrier, and the issue of autonomy, were inevitable. Although it is recognized that these issues are part and parcel of the world views, they played such an important role in the drama that they merit special consideration.

The inability to communicate in a common language led to misunderstandings, suspicions, stereotyping, and exploitation between both the Ukrainian immigrants and the dominant Anglo-Saxon group. The majority of what is written on the conflicts between these two groups is from the perspective of the Anglo-Saxons. There are, therefore, numerous examples of the negative feelings the dominant group held for these immigrants, some of which were described in the previous section. Stereotyping and suspicions grew from the obvious difference in their outward appearance and from the inability of either group to understand the other's values and customs. These negative reactions toward the immigrants were also fuelled by writings in Canadian newspapers and books, by the speeches of prominent politicians, as well as by the gossip of locals in the corner stores. Although they have been referred to by a myriad of derogatory terms, in general they were seen as "ignorant, filthy, and immoral."

Ignorant of the language and customs of Canada, and lacking capital, the Ukrainian immigrants were open and vulnerable to exploitation. Since they were in no position to exploit their hosts, the examples are decidedly one-sided. The Galician laborers were seen by some Anglo-Saxons as "naive, trustful, bearded giants [who] worked like elephants, laughed like children, and asked no questions" (Berton, 1984, p. 72). Their naivete and trustfulness, however, subjected them to "ruthless, brazen robbery" (Berton, 1984, p. 72). Swindlers dressed as doctors failed the Ukrainian's entrance into the country for health reasons

but were happy to accept bribes to let them pass. At different points of departure they were charged exorbitant prices for meagre, barely edible food and for cramped lodgings, and were hawked useless goods. Along the entire immigration route, every conceivable trick was used by the unscrupulous to relieve the peasants of the little money they possessed. It is little wonder that the xenophobic, illiterate peasants' suspicions of anyone in authority were heightened.

There were attempts at communication through the use of interpreters but these were not always successful since most of these "interpreters" were local Ukrainians who were recruited because they had some knowledge of English. Berton gives an amusing example of the kind of interpreting that went on. Frank Oliver was speaking to a group of immigrants, ranting on about high tariffs, the Alaska border dispute, and about the Department of the Interior. Only the interpreter understood what was being said:

> "What's he say?" one listener finally asked the interpreter.
> "He's glad we're here. Canada was lucky to get us..."
> "What about the stupid fire regulations?"
> "He'll fix them."
> "What's he say about the railroad?"
> "I forgot to tell you that - he's got it started for sure."
> "What about the mudholes around Whitford Lake?"
> "He'll fix them - he'll do all he can for our area...."
> (Berton, 1984, p. 78-79)

Not only did the language barrier create numerous conflicting interpretations of a situation, so did the different cultural frames of reference. In one instance, immigration officials could not understand a group of Ukrainian immigrants' refusal of a gift of 160 acres of what was considered very good wheat growing land. The immigrants wanted wood on their land. What the officials failed to

understand was that back in their homeland wood was precious and so scarce it was bought by the pound. In some areas it was a crime to cut down a tree (Berton, 1984).

The Ukrainian immigrants had a common language and a shared set of experiences which led to similar attitudes and perspectives. These were incompatible with those of the dominant group, which was not concerned over the welfare of this or any other minority group. It was primarily concerned with maintaining the status quo, using whatever coercive measures necessary. The immigrants, on the other hand, were more focused on the family, the church, and the welfare of their group. This was reflected in the bloc settlement patterns.

The bloc settlements were effectively "closed systems" and as such they posed a major threat to the maintenance of the status quo. To ensure this maintenance, the Anglo-Saxons were convinced that the immigrants had to be assimilated as quickly as possible. The school, they believed, was the institution that could accomplish this end. However, using the school as the vehicle to achieve this goal created conflicts.

The first area of conflict lay in the two groups' respective perceptions of the school's function and importance. Although the immigrants recognized that some schooling was necessary, education did not generally occupy "pride of place" in their Weltanschauung. As was seen earlier, the earth, the tilling of the soil and the recurring seasons were the only permanent things in life. "Whatever memories were endured were linked with the earth. The native civilization that emerged was that of an earth-bound and earth-loving peasant tradition" (Blinoff, 1961, p. 69). Formal school was of limited value in this tradition.

Also, given their history of servitude and oppression, the immigrant settlers had many doubts and fears about English schools. They feared that schools would interfere

with their social liberties, that their taxes would be increased and be excessive, that their religious beliefs would be contravened, and that their children would leave home. Some even feared that English teachers would harm their children's souls and that they then would be forever lost as a result of English influence. There were isolated cases of settlers who kept their children home for various reasons: to help with seasonal work, household chores and because some couldn't afford to clothe their children to walk the long distances to schools. Despite the hardships and the fears, however, most Ukrainian immigrants took advantage of the educational opportunities available to them in Canada (Young, 1931).

Both groups also saw the role of the teacher differently. The Anglo-Saxons wanted English teachers who would promote the English culture. Central to this culture was the English language. The Ukrainians wanted bilingual teachers who could not only teach their children the new language and customs but also help them retain their own language. They had been forced to learn several different languages throughout their history and the requirement to learn yet another was not an issue with them. However, the inability to have the right to retain an important aspect of their identity -- their language -- was a problem. As Shevelov notes, "Language was considered the expression of the nation's aspirations and the sum of its historical experience" (cited in Rudnytsky, p.224).

To the Anglo-Saxons the school was an extremely important vehicle for assimilating the immigrants. It was a heavy-handed, authoritarian, and coercive institution whose goal was to ensure political loyalty and maintain social control.

Its effectiveness was assured by the addition of compulsory education and truancy regulations in the 1901 School Ordinance. This legislation was a coercive measure

used by the Anglo-Saxons which has come under critical review in recent times. It was, in the words of Karl Peter, a form of "institutional intimidation"

> [which] flowed through the press ... and appeared on the playgrounds and in the classrooms of the schools [to keep the ethnic groups at bay].... The notion of the huddled, ignorant masses of Europe, fleeing from tyranny and persecution, who were given the privilege to partake in free Canadian institutions bestowed upon the Dominion by the English, was designed to impress on the immigrant a feeling of awe, unworthiness, and inferiority and elicited an attitude of generosity, superiority, and condescension among the Anglo-Saxon group. (cited in Onufrijchuk, 1988, p. 6-7)

Given such attitudes, the decisive educational measures seemed justifiable. Similar phenomena were evident in the political arena. It is at this point that a dynamic interplay between the last three tenets of Dahrendorf's model (conflict, disintegration, coercion) occurs. Each time conflict occurred, there was a subsequent deterioration in the relationship. This in turn resulted in coercive measures being taken by the dominant group which generated more conflict and a further breakdown in the relationship, and so on. A look at the political scene of 1913 will show the dynamic interplay of these principles.

a. The Revolt

Having had some experience in managing their municipal affairs, the Ukrainians aspired to a greater degree of self-determination in the democratic system. Evidently it could be achieved by having a stronger voice in the legislature. With an upcoming election, they believed this goal could be realized if the constituency boundary lines could be changed to have Ukrainian candidates in the constituencies primarily populated by Ukrainians. So, in January 1913, a Ukrainian political convention was called in Vegreville. The

organizational committee showed its pro-Liberal stance when it passed a resolution supporting Sifton's administration and when it chose six known pro-Liberals to form a delegation that would present the convention's resolution to the Premier. The delegates included Peter Svarich, Roman Kremar, Paul Rudyk, Gowda Kraykiwsky, and Andrew Shandro (President of the Association of Ukrainian School Trustees, and a prominent Liberal who was to become Canada's first Ukrainian MLA). This attempt at mediation with Premier Sifton was an opportunity to create positive attitudes between the two groups. This would have diminished the Ukrainians' feelings of resentment and would have perhaps prevented the subsequent downward spiral in their relationship. However, the delegation failed to impress the Premier. Sifton accepted the resolution for later use but was doubtful that the controversial boundary changes to ensure a few Ukrainian representatives would be accepted.

Of the five constituencies in which the Ukrainians were most numerous -- notably Victoria, Pakan, Vegreville, Whitford, and Vermillion -- only the Liberals in Whitford nominated a Ukrainian candidate, Andrew Shandro. This situation disturbed the remaining party members to such a degree that they decided to switch party allegiance and nominate a Ukrainian at the Conservative nomination meeting in Vegreville in March 1913. They launched an advance campaign in the district and were certain they would succeed in nominating Peter Kulmatysky, since the majority of delegates were of Ukrainian origin. On the day of the convention the town hall was packed. "The Ukrainian delegates looked round and rubbed their hands with glee when they saw that there were more of them than others. They were confident of victory, ..." (Czumer, 1981, p. 101). However, someone moved that a nominations committee be struck to select the candidates and the motion was carried. The Ukrainians did not realize it was a political ploy which

allowed a majority of non-Ukrainians to be selected for the committee. To their dismay the committee chose a non-Ukrainian, F.A. Morrison over Kulmatysky. "The auditorium burst into pandemonium ... It was not long before fighting broke out among the delegates in the auditorium, in the corridor, out on the street, and in the marketplace. The 'war' raged for almost an hour ..." (Czumer, 1981, p. 102). But Morrison retained the nomination. Subsequently, Svarich, Kraykiwsky, Gowda, and Rudyk ran as Independents. On April 19th. the only Ukrainian to emerge victorious was the Russophile, Andrew Shandro. The struggle left the Ukrainian delegates angry with the failure and bitter at having been the subject of political Anglo-Saxon trickery and deception. The relationship between the Ukrainians and the government was further weakened by this experience. The Ukrainians' first attempt to elect members to the legislature and, consequently, influence educational policy was a failure. This foray into the political arena and, in particular, their change in party allegiance was to have unfavorable consequences for the Ukrainians.

Czumer (1981) succinctly describes the government's coercive reaction:

> After the sensational Alberta election of 1913, the re-elected Minister of Education, J.R. Boyle, did not forget what the Ukrainians had cooked up for him and his party. In order to take revenge, he blamed a handful of what he called "Galician teachers" for being the political instigators behind the nomination of Ukrainian candidates. (p. 103)

About a month after the election, the Department of Education ruled that only qualified teachers could be in charge of schools and instructed Robert Fletcher, Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners, to effect this ruling. Following these instructions, Fletcher requested the board of trustees of eleven school districts to dismiss the

"unqualified teachers" and employ qualified teachers whom he had brought. Though the respective boards reluctantly executed this directive, it precipitated yet a further deterioration in the relationship between the Ukrainians and the government. This is not surprising since the Ukrainian peasants had not outgrown their hereditary attitude to "agents of the ruling nation of which they had been unwilling subjects" (Young, 1931, p. 277).

This attitude was particularly evident in the school districts of Vladymir, Kolomea, Oleskow, Podola, Molodia, Zawale, Spring Creek, Paraskevia, Stanislawow and Lwiu where Fletcher's directives were ignored. This recalcitrance was countered by the dissolution of the elected boards and the appointment of Fletcher as the official trustee for these districts, further exacerbating an already delicate situation. As official trustee, Fletcher immediately replaced the Ruthenian teachers with "qualified" personnel. Each time Ukrainian teachers were replaced with English speaking ones a deterioration in the two groups relationship was occurring.

But the most belligerent opposition to Boyle's policy occurred in the Bukowina school, north of Vegreville. As in other districts, the trustees refused to dismiss the Ruthenian teacher, thus creating a conflict between the Department of Education and the Ukrainian community. Resorting to a familiar strategy, Fletcher reported their recalcitrance to the Department of Education and was immediately appointed official trustee. With this "cloak of authority", Fletcher returned to the Bukowina school on July 15, 1913, sent the bilingual teacher, Mr. Czumer, on his way, and placed a "qualified" teacher, Mr. Armstrong, in charge of the school. This coercive measure was to create more conflict. Within an hour about twenty rate payers assembled on the school grounds. The deterioration in the

relationship between the two groups had unpleasant results. A description of what transpired is found in Fletcher's annual report:

> They were in no pleasant mood. They shook their fists at the teacher and myself, and the language they used was unparliamentary, to say the least. One of the ex-trustees entered the school, disturbed the order or exercises and dismissed the children. He then came outside and strutted among the crowed in high glee at his apparent success. One of the more cautious ones intimated that a court might follow this trouble. He did not care a whit for the court, the police, or Government, he said. He was a real hero in his own eyes and would have been a hero in the eyes of the other rate payers had his success not been short lived. [Coercive measures were quick to follow.] Four days later he appeared before the Inspector of Police at Fort Saskatchewan and was fined five dollars and cost. This had the desired effect. He made no trouble since. (Eighth Annual Report, 1913, p. 42-43)

After the trial, Mr. Armstrong conducted classes "without further molestation. But the struggle did not end..." (Eighth Annual Report, 1913, p. 43). Rather than have their children taught by a "lumberjack," the Bukowinian tax payers built a private school just off the grounds of the public school and employed the dismissed Mr. Czumer. About thirty students went to the private school while not one attended the public school. The conflict culminated in the Ukrainians' success in eliminating, for a brief time, the principal assimilative institution -- the public school. This brief withdrawal from the public school system further weakened an already strained relationship with the authorities.

While these measures and counter-measures were played out by the Ruthenian tax payers and the Department of Education, newspapers published partisan assessments of this

drama. English newspapers, of course, supported Boyle's actions. Representative examples of such endorsement are found in the Edmonton Capital.

NORMAL TRAINED TEACHERS IN THE GALICIAN SCHOOLS

No More Will Instructors Be Kept Who Cannot Speak English Language

Truancy Act Against Foreigners Opposing

Certain Qualifications Are Demanded of Pedagogues by Province

and Must be Lived Up to

Last spring a number of Galicians came to Alberta from Manitoba and secured employment in different districts. The majority of these are unable to speak English.

Mr. Fletcher ... was instructed to remove the unsatisfactory teachers and replace them with normal trained instructors.

In the case of the Kolomea and Bukowina districts the opposition was so strenuous that they were taken before a magistrate, with the result that they were fined for interfering with a regular qualified teacher in the discharge of his duties.

(The Edmonton Capital, August 19, 1913, p. 2)

TEACHER FROM MANITOBA SUMMARILY DISMISSED

Control of Ruthenian Schools in Alberta must be firmly maintained

Minister of Education Deals Firmly with Refractory Galician School Trustees

---

The department of education for Alberta has a live problem on its hands in connection with the education of foreigners.

A number of Galicians who had been employed in Manitoba schools came here last spring and were at once installed by Galician school boards.

It is stated that many of these so-called teachers were scarcely able to speak or write English. When this condition was discovered by the department, Mr. Fletcher, the supervisor of schools among foreigners, was instructed to at once have properly qualified teachers placed in these schools.

In a number of cases the foreign teacher

> refused to quit and as the Galician school board refused to dismiss the teacher, the Hon. John R. Boyle, minister of education, appointed Mr. Fletcher as official trustee and he at once proceeded to dismiss the Galician untrained teacher and install the regular teacher.
>
> (The Edmonton Capital, August, 20, 1913 as cited in Czumer, 1981, p. 104)

While such reports were published with predictable regularity by a number of English-language newspapers, the Ukrainian perspective was heralded chiefly by the Nowyny. The tenor of its attack on Fletcher, the Department of Education, and the Liberal party is shown in the following selected excerpts:

MORE VIOLENCE BY LIBERAL CURS

> The Liberal bitch, Fletcher, continues to wage war among the Ukrainian schools. Not long ago he drove the teacher, Kozlowski, from the school in Podola and replaced him with a lumberjack. In a few weeks, the lumberjack ran away and the farmers hired another Ukrainian teacher, H.B. Gavinchuk.
>
> Gavinchuk did not even teach one week when big-bellied Fletcher came and drove him out, saying "I have already driven you out once and you can no longer teach in a public school."
>
> In place of Gavinchuk, Fletcher, against the wishes of the trustees and the people, placed another bull as he had done in other Ukrainian schools.
>
> The teacher, O. Klymok, enjoyed the support and sympathy of the community. He followed the school curriculum as best he could, and neither the school Inspector nor the Department could find fault. But if you wish to strike a dog, you'll find a stick. One renegade, by the name of Strashok, reported to the Department of Education that Mr. Klymok was teaching Ukrainian songs on Sunday. At once, the supervisor of Outhouses appeared on the scene and expelled the teacher for this horrible crime.
>
> That Liberal Cattle had lost all sense of honor

> and truth is shown by the Liberal Napoleon who, in his speeches, lost little opportunity to attack the Ukrainians. "The politics of my Department is that in all the schools in Alberta teaching shall be done in the English language only. Teachers who have come from Manitoba are not qualified and do not speak English well. That is why my Department has forbidden them to teach.
>
> (The Nowyny, September 12, 1913, p. 1)

The confrontation, though, went beyond a battle of words. The relationship between the two groups had disintegrated to such a degree that given the expense of operating a private school, the ex-treasurer of the Bukowina district collected taxes from some of the rate payers to pay Mr. Czumer. Mr. Fletcher intervened and ordered the five leading belligerents to pay their taxes to the public school within ten days or face dire consequences. That the threat was ignored reflected the degree to which the relationship between the government and the Ukrainians had broken down. As a consequence of this ignored directive, Fletcher seized a horse from each of the five "renegades." After legal consultation, they paid their taxes to Fletcher and the ex-treasurer refunded all the money he had collected. To the rate payers, the consequence was clear -- the private school could not be funded by taxes levied on assessed municipal property.

In addition, the government took further coercive action to counter this Great Ruthenian School Revolt. Frustrated by school boards re-engaging dismissed teachers, an effective check was put on this practice at the full session (1913) of the Legislature. Section 149 of the School Ordinance was amended by the addition of the following provisions:

> (2) Any person not qualified [namely, having a valid certificate issued under the regulations of the department] shall not be entitled to recover in any court of law any remuneration for his services as such teacher.
>
> (3) Any person other than the holder of such certificate of qualification, who undertakes to conduct a school as teacher shall be guilty of an offence and on summary conviction liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars and in default to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month. (An Act to Amend the School Ordinance, 1913, p. 78)

The government's coercive measures had struck a fatal blow -- the Revolt was over. The bilingual teachers were legally and effectively barred from teaching. "The private school at Bukowina became illegal and at Christmas its teacher, Czumer, said goodbye to the children and the community and moved to Edmonton" (Czumer, 1981, p. 115). At this point, the relationship between the two groups had totally disintegrated. Hostile sentiments remained, however, and physical violence was soon to follow.

At this time, Armstrong went on holidays. "He had remained at the school like someone under confinement, while being paid out of the district Treasury by the official trustee" (Czumer, 1981, p. 115). Shortly after he returned from his vacation, three women came to his teacherage and asked him to leave the district and not cause any more trouble because they had no intention of sending their children to him. According to Czumer (1981), Armstrong was an impudent and arrogant man and told the women that it was not their business to give him orders. He proceeded to show them the door. He was apparently roughed up a bit for this ungentlemanly behaviour:

WOMEN EMPLOY THEIR TEETH TO FIGHT A TEACHER

> On January 4th., when Mr. Armstrong returned to his shack alongside of the school house after the vacation, two women came into his shack and when his back was turned struck him on the head with a pot and proceeded to maul him up generally using their teeth upon him fiercely. He succeeded in ejecting them from the house. He was then set upon by a couple of men with clubs who beat him up unmercifully. Of course, the offenders will be prosecuted.
>
> (The Edmonton Capital, January 9, 1914, p. 2)

The government's retaliation against the offenders was swift. Armstrong had recognized one of the women -- the "ringleader" -- as Mariia Kapitsky and charged her with assault. To date no court records have been located and her fate remains unclear. Some reports say she was fined $200 and spent two months in the women's prison at Macleod with her eighteen month old child. Other reports reduce or omit the fine and reduce or omit the jail term (Lupul, 1982; Ninth Annual Report, 1914).

Although the Ukrainians realized in light of the recent events, that their relationship with the government had irreparably deteriorated, they introduced a proposal in the Legislature to amend the School Act to make provision for bilingual schools. It was a last attempt at gaining some measure of control over their lives. But mounting feelings against "enemy aliens", the opposition of organized church and other groups for unilingual education, and the fear of failing to assimilate these "aliens" resulted in the abolition of the few remaining privileges the Ukrainians enjoyed (Jaenen, 1979).

Rather then amending the School Act, the Legislature unanimously passed the following resolution:

> That this House place itself on record as being opposed to bilingualism in any form in the School system of Alberta, and as in favour of the English language being the only language permitted to be used as the medium of instruction in the schools of Alberta, subject to the provisions of any law in force in the Province in that effect. (Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs [C.A.R.] as cited in Jaenen, 1979, p. 55)

The Hon. J.R. Boyle, Minister of Education in Sifton's Liberal administration, was even more explicit:

> English is the language of this country and it will be the language of the schools. The bulk of the people of Alberta want to be taught the English language and it does not greatly matter whether a teacher knows the home language of the children he is going to teach. The child learns quickly in any case. (C.A.R. as cited in Jaenen, 1979, p. 55)

These last coercive measures by the government finally quelled the bilingual issue. And with the elimination of bilingual schools, the main goal of schooling became linguistic and cultural assimilation (Sokolwski, 1991). The Anglo-Saxons had maintained their position of authority and power in the province.

Their position of authority had been kept by using aggressive resolution techniques in response to conflict situations. Confrontation and non-negotiable demands were their way of dealing with deep-seated differences. Replacing bilingual teachers with English teachers, fining rate payers, taking horses from recalcitrant tax payers, and banning bilingual teachers from teaching in the province were some examples of the "resolution" techniques used by the Anglo-Saxons. These tactics were attempts to change the attitudes and motivations of the Ukrainians to fall in line with those of the dominant group. It resulted, however, in the creation of an adversarial relationship between the two groups, perpetuating further confrontations. Aggressive

resolution techniques did not solve their problems and neither did their attempts at compromising.

The Anglo-Saxons used deception and "dirty tricks" to gain advantage as was evidenced in the Ukrainians' attempt to enter the political arena. This resolution technique engendered resentment and mistrust and precluded the possibility of the two groups finding alternative solutions to their problems. Also, the use of the judicial system in dealing with conflict only exacerbated the problem since the people who were engaged in trying to find solutions (i.e., lawyers, and judges) were also trained to view conflict in combative terms. There was no possibility of collaboration between the two groups since the relationship had disintegrated to such a degree that there was no trust, openness, or communication between them.

Compulsory settlement of disputes through different bargaining techniques is not, in the sense of conflict theory, an effective mode of conflict regulation (Dahrendorf, 1959). Compulsory settlement doesn't resolve the problem to both groups' satisfaction. It leads to the suppression of conflict which resurfaces again later.

CHAPTER 5

A. DISCUSSION

> Today is always and for all men the digging of one's way out of the ruins of yesterday. (Barrett, 1962, p. 271)

It is generally accepted that each generation should re-write its history. The re-examination of past conflicts and events within contemporary frameworks should lead to new insights and perspectives. The task of recreating past events is both challenging and at times difficult and extremely perplexing. But this "digging one's way out of the ruins of yesterday" is what constitutes the agony and the ecstasy of being human.

This challenge was one of the reasons I became interested in the Ruthenian School Revolt. What particularly intrigued me was that there were no heroes or heroic deeds connected to this event. There were no great battles, no kings, popes, or generals who distinguished themselves. The conflict did not affect the rich, the powerful, the talented, or the privileged. Rather it involved and affected ordinary people -- the poor, the labourer, the immigrant, and the unpretentious -- "[those] whose fortitude provides the basis of power for the 'great'" (Kach, 1986, p. 32). In attempting to understand historical events one need not look for heroes, "for it is the ordinary man who, in the process of enduring suffering, will hold together the fabric of society and nourish the spirit of change" (Kach, 1986, p. 32).

Throughout the ages, conflict has evoked three types of responses: retreat, indifference, and attempts to resolve the problem. It was not the silent majority -- the retreatists and the indifferents -- who set the course for change. It was ordinary people, like the immigrants, who

stood up, who attempted to solve the conflict, and who endured and prevailed -- they were the catalysts that helped make history. The Ukrainian immigrants were not well educated and could not, therefore, analyze themselves nor their world with any accuracy. They could not view a problem from different perspectives, nor were they "cultured." Their inner needs, their motives, and their frustrations were often incomprehensible to them. The immigrants were afraid and lost in their new country, but they had faith. However, their beliefs led not only to progress but to conflict as well.

Analyzing the events of the Ruthenian School Revolt within the framework of a theoretical model was recommended to me by my supervisor, Dr. Joe Fris. There were advantages to this type of an approach. First, it directs one's attention to a specific set of problems and introduces order into a collection of facts. Second, it furnishes these facts with a coherent explanation. Third, the explanation or analysis adds some knowledge to what has already been written about the event. It not only transforms what was previously known, but clarifies it and gives it new meaning. And, by extension, the analysis also contributes to the body of knowledge on how societies function.

Though there were a number of models I could have selected to analyze this event, I chose one which not only appeared to explain the conflict best but one which appeared to be relatively simple. Theories are set out in a very logical, schematic fashion. The tenets of a given theory are often designated categories arranged in a particular order (i.e., change, conflict, disintegration, coercion). The clusters of events making up a particular phenomenon do not fit neatly under designated categories. A particular incident (e.g., The Great Ruthenian School Revolt) is the culmination of a linear progression of a myriad of minor interrelated events, each dynamically interacting until it

is eventually recognized and labelled by historians as a movement, a revolt, etcetera. One cannot rearrange these events to fit the order of the tenets of a theory. It is then the order of reality rather than that of the theory that guides the analysis. It was for this reason that in the analysis Dahrendorf's tenets of conflict, disintegration, and coercion could not be dealt with under separate headings. That this analytical problem existed in using a relatively simple theory based on only four principles leads one to wonder what the difficulty would have been if a more complex paradigm had been used.

However, no theory, no matter how simple or complex, provides an entirely satisfactory solution or explanation to an event or a problem. Each theory or perspective has its own set of "blinders," its limits of explanatory power;, however, each adds to the body of knowledge about a particular set of events.

Myrna Kostash (1977) in her book, All of Baba's Children, is identified as being a radical revisionist by the person who wrote the Forward. Her account of the experiences of the Ukrainians in Canada has elements of the radical structuralist paradigm. She identifies different levels of sophistication between the two cultures in economic terms. For instance she writes that the Ukrainians were offered the leftovers in terms of homesteads -- treed and rocky sections of land dismissed by the immigrants of Great Britain and Western Europe. In discussing the immigrants desire to send their children to school, she writes that the problem was not only a lack of money but also the government's notion of unilinguality and the general high-handedness of the Department of Education. The adult immigrants who did not pick up some English, according to Kostash, were those who would be "hoodwinked and overruled" and would experience unequal treatment in their dealings with the English.

Kostash's radical revisionist perspective is unequivocally illustrated in the first chapter where she assesses common whig interpretations of the Ukrainian immigrants' experiences in Canada. She assesses Yuzyk's account of how the immigrants took advantage of the opportunities for freedom and material wealth that were available to them, as follows:

> ... [his] vision is simplistic and misleading.... It belies the fact that financial security was tenuous in the extreme, that their labour was far from remunerative, that their "freedom" to an education was to an anglicized one; the law was discriminatory, their non-Ukrainian neighbors were racists, their leftist political activists were persecuted; and the admonitions to "work" and "thrift" applied precisely and only to the working people.... (Kostash, 1977, p. 26)

Throughout the rest of the book, her analysis of events is consistent with this ideological framework. She ignores, however, some important points.

In subscribing to the "hard luck" position of the immigrants she ignores the fact that conditions in Canada were still better than in the homeland -- very few returned. Also ignored in her writings are accounts of those who succeeded. According to one source, the percentage of Ukrainian owners, managers, rose from .5% in 1921 to 2.6% in 1971. Similar redistributions were found in the professional/technical and primary industry occupational groupings. The percentage of Ukrainians rose from 1% in 1921 to 10.4% in 1971 in the professional/technical category and a decline is found in the primary industry category (which includes farming, fishing, forestry) -- from a high of 70% in 1921 to a low of 13% in 1971 (in Petryshyn, 1980, p. 63). These figures show that there was an increase, albeit a slow one, in the number of people who succeeded economically and socially. It is interesting to note that

contrary to her thesis, success was experienced by her father's family: "The Kostashes have a reputation of almost mythical proportions for having sent all six sons to University from their Royal Park homestead" (Kostash, 1977, p. 70).

In stark contrast to Kostash's radical revisionist perspective is the position that McGregor portrays in his book Vilni Zemli. His account of the Ukrainians social reality falls under the functionalist paradigm. He sees the Canadian social structure as inherently good and available to those who wish to take advantage of it. The book is filled with glowing statements on the success of the Ukrainians:

> These were the people who in two generations were first to convert the land to a new Ukraine and then, having stamped it indelibly with their fond old-land memories, to transform it into a prosperous farming area dotted with rural towns and themselves into outstanding contributors to Canada's legal, political, and scientific life. (McGregor, 1969, p. 5)

He also gives examples of the social mobility experienced by those who took advantage of the system, including the Kostashes:

> During the 1920's ... the first Ukrainian physicians, dentists, and lawyers began serving the pioneers ... One of the first Ukrainians to graduate from the university was Harry Kostash, who received his BA degree in 1921.... By 1948 the Kostash family had earned nine more degrees.... While this family has a remarkable educational achievement ... many other pioneer families almost equalled it.... (McGregor, 1969, p. 258)

In McGregor's view, Canada's social order had a purpose and a function. It was not to be challenged but to be taken advantage of.

> Looking back now after these Slavs have demonstrated their worth, non-Slavs may well blush about how hasty they were to judge these "bohunks".... And yet Anglo-Saxons may well be proud of the fact that they contributed the milieu in which Ukrainian ability was allowed to prove itself. They furnished the democratic framework within which a fine people found it possible to attain the promised land.... (McGregor, 1969, p. 261)

Even though there was an increase in social mobility, McGregor glosses over the fact that it took decades for this increase to be proportionately represented. Another area that is not addressed in either McGregor's account nor in the tenets of the functionalist paradigm is the psychological one. In none of his accounts does McGregor show recognition of the negative psychological impact the prejudices had upon many of the immigrants.

Yet another perspective on the Ukrainian immigrants' experiences in Canada, this time from within the radical humanist paradigm, is given in a translation of a book by Czumer, the central figure in the Great Ruthenian School Revolt. It would be expected that he would write from this perspective given that a good portion of his life was devoted to improving the lot of the Ukrainians.

Czumer had a successful teaching career and saw Ukrainian-English teachers like himself as "their peoples' protectors and ultimately their benefactors." (p. vii). He recognized that increased power and thereby success for the Ukrainian people lay in organization. To this end he helped to organize and served as president in the Ukrainian - English Teachers' Association, the Brokenhead Farmers' Trading Company, the Smoky Lake Mercantile Store, and he joined the first executive of the Ukrainian Publishing Company. He was an avid supporter of the Conservative party all his life and was very active in the Ukrainian Orthodox church movement. His life was spent helping to create a

more equitable and just social structure for the Ukrainians. Among his efforts to attain this end, was the writing of Recollections about the life of the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada.

Given his self appointed mission, one anticipates a biased narration. What, too, is the reader to make of the disclaimer in the preface where the author states that the book "is neither the work of an historian nor a writer, but the straightforward recollections of the author and others who are in it" (Czumer, 1981, p. xvi). Yet it was recognized in the postscript that "[a] lot of space was taken up in this book by matters of a social nature - church, school, organization, and politics" (Czumer, 1981, p. 151). This is evident in some of his topic titles:

- A Brief Outline of the History of North America and the Colonization of Canada
- Ukrainians and Canadian Politics
- Longing for Their Homeland and Church
- What the Ukrainians Brought with them to Canada
- The Role of the Ukrainian Pioneers as Farmers in Canada

Though Czumer's book is a seminal work it is not an objective account of events. He wrote of incidents and changes that were occurring around him and of those he helped create.

An interpretive account of the Ukrainians experiences in Canada is given by Petryshyn (1985). This account describes the engagement of each group in activities and events with the hope of gaining a better understanding of the relationship between the two. In the preface Petryshyn indicates that he will attempt to relate the formative

period of Ukrainian settlement in Canada from the perspective of both the host society and the immigrants. He points out that:

> An important aspect in delineating the immigrant experience ... revolves around the Weltanschauung of their homeland.... The old country greatly affected the gestalt of the immigrant community in the new country; it would condition the response of the Ukrainians to the political, social, religious, and economic milieu in which they found themselves. (Petryshyn, 1985, p. ix)

Examples of his claim to objectivity were not difficult to find. Petryshyn (1985) succinctly described the Ukrainian's political position in Canada upon their immigration as follows:

> Legally, Canada generously extended its freedoms and opportunities to all new immigrants. But in reality, a fierce debate raged over such a carte blanche approach ... the belief in the superior race undermined legal niceties. The egalitarian host society could not justify fully extending its liberties to those who ... would abuse them. (p. 110)

In further accounts in the political and educational area he writes the following from the immigrant's perspective:

> Led by the emerging intelligentsia ... the Ukrainians shunned the proselytizing efforts of Anglo-Canadian Protestants. Not only did they retain their Catholic and Orthodox religions, but they actively espoused their own national identity. Nowhere is this more evident than in the concern for their language. It was the sacred key, treasured through the centuries, to the soul of the old country - the best of Ukrainian culture, history, tradition, and ideals. Ukrainians would not give up their birthright. (p. 170)

Further examples of his objectivity are found in his descriptions of social and religious events. He explains

for example, how government and health officials set up quarantines in areas where contagious diseases existed and how they then vaccinated the population. He then goes on to point out that the Ukrainians could deal with the illnesses and even family death because of "their strong supernatural, mystical and religious beliefs in which dreams, folk medicine, witches, and spirits played significant roles" (Petryshyn, 1985, p. 81).

In the area of religion he describes the misunderstanding between the French and Ukrainian Catholics:

> French Catholics did not understand that the Eastern rite of the Ukrainian Catholic church underpinned the distinction between the Ukrainians and the Poles, that the Ukrainian Eastern rite was an expression of a fiercely guarded national identity. When the French Catholics showed their ignorance of the historical animosity by sending a Polish priest to serve Ukrainians, the Ukrainians were convinced that the French Catholics had devious plans for them. (p. 132)

Human interactions are always complex but they are magnified when they occur between a host society and an immigrant group. To describe them in an objective fashion is an extremely difficult task. Unlike authors such as Kostash, who writes from a particularly radical perspective,or McGregor, who is at times patronizing in his writings, Petryshyn presents a well-researched, non-judgemental, and unbiased account of events. He should be commended for his work for he has above all transcended ethno-centricity. It is perhaps one of the most objective works of Ukrainian and Anglo-Saxon interactions that has been presented to the public. This feat is all the more remarkable given the fact that he is of Ukrainian descent.

Despite these strengths, there were a few shortcomings, albeit minor ones. I could not always find a parallel illustration of perspectives in the various areas that he described. The only other point that I found that could be

questioned is his belief that English-Ukrainian bilingual schools can continue to exist despite his realization that the number of Ukrainians within the total Canadian population is declining and no notable Ukrainian immigration is expected.

Given the strengths and shortcomings of the above perspective, was the use of a model necessary in this study? Could the same goals have been reached by a thorough description of the event? As Kaplan (1964) points out: "descriptions may themselves be explanatory -- the 'how' may give us a 'why' and not just a 'what'" (p. 329). But one cannot entirely rely on historical knowledge as a key to avoiding or readily resolving current and future problems. For as Duberman (1969) states:

> We are no longer so sanguine as to expect the study of events in the past to provide us with a detailed blueprint for action in the present or future. We recognize, for example, that no matter how much we learn of the contours of past revolutions, we will never be able to tell with certainty either how to avoid or how to produce one. There are too many variables through time; events are too embedded in their unique contexts to be readily interchangeable. (p. 46)

This limitation of history, however, does not affirm the opposite - that history is unique. Approximate similarities can often be found in similar events even though these events are widely separated by time. The similarities may be only rough or approximate but some information is available and is certainly preferable to none. If we are conscious of past decisions and their consequences we will have some insights into the resolution of similar contemporary conflicts.

B. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

> If you maintain that something interests you, consider whether you regard as people those who interest you. (Quoted in, Pacholski, Maksymillian, Florian Znaniecki: Spoleczna Dynamika Kultury. Warszawa: P.W.N., 1977, p. 192. as cited in Adamowicz, 1988, p. 183)

"This admonition to all those engaged in the study of mankind, its nature, and its behaviour is particularly applicable to historians" (Adamowicz, 1988, p. 183). Too often historians and other researchers write about only a small segment of the population as if it were its totality. They write about a minority versus a majority and exclude others in the population. What of these others, who have been relegated to some sort of "non-historic status"? (Adamovicz, 1988).

Engaging in more micro ethnographic studies, such as this one, would provide us with a more accurate and complete description of how our society functions. These studies would not only recognize the multicultural and multi-ethnic nature of Canada but a compilation of all these "parts" would provide a more comprehensive history of the "whole."

There is little detailed research on the role and the influence of the pioneer Ukrainian-English school teachers on the immigrant communities. The literature indicates that the immigrants arrived in Canada without leaders -- that the majority (95%) were illiterate peasants. Where then, did these first pioneering teachers come from? The Ruthenian Training School, in Winnipeg did not produce sufficient bilingual (Ukrainian-English) teachers to staff the increasing number of schools that were being established in the Ukrainian communities in Western Canada. And of the available non-Ukrainian teachers, few were willing to teach in the remote, "foreign" settlements. Detailed studies of these first "trail blazing" teachers is in order.

It would also be useful to be able to compare one ethnic group's struggle for bilingual schools with another's. More research could be undertaken comparing the teachers' roles, their qualifications to teach, and the program of studies available, of the different ethnic groups which were taking part in Canada's formation in the early 20th. century.

Another area which merits further research is the government's responses and its policies toward bilingual programs and bilingual schools. Although some research has been done in this area, especially with reference to the French bilingual schools in the province, the dynamics of the cases have not been documented or studied fully.

In general, there is a lack of research with respect to conflict in schools. Most of the literature on conflict deals with other organizations. Studies of conflict over learning different languages in the schools at the different educational levels is warranted. The role of school administrators, special interest groups, and the Department of Education towards bilingualism; the role and influence of teachers with respect to different ethnic groups; and a detailed examination of the various programs of language studies would be beneficial. Also, a study in the dynamics of these areas would aid us in understanding what role bilingual schools played in Canada's social, economic, cultural, and political development.

Today, Canadians of every background refer to the Canadian Mosaic and even boast about it "as if it had been purposely invented as an instrument of national policy to preserve the Dominion from the conformity of the American Melting Pot" (Berton, 1984, p. 85). This "new" perspective has at least prompted students and authors to examine specific phenomena and processes of the various ethnic

groups' effects on Canadian life. This is leading to a better understanding, perhaps even a redefinition, of what it means to be Canadian.

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